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Yeltsin Denies Republics 'Unaware' of Proposals

OW1302214292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin left Moscow on Thursday [13 February] evening to take part in the Commonwealth summit in Minsk. Shortly before departure Yeltsin said that the Minsk meeting would focus on the military policy. In Yeltsin's opinion, the discussion "will not be easy" although he hopes progress will be made.

Replying to a question from INTERFAX, Yeltsin noted that the presidents of Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan had "supported in principle" his nuclear disarmament proposals. He denied allegations that they were unaware of those proposals.

"I had sent them my suggestions before making the official statement. They did not seem to have any objections," he said. All the three presidents announced their republics' intention to become nuclear-free countries and suggested scrapping nuclear arms also in Russia, Yeltsin said and added that CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Commander in chief Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov had brought together defense ministers from all of the Commonwealth states in Minsk to discuss 14 draft documents on military issues to be submitted to the Commonwealth leaders Friday [14 February].

Yeltsin said he had had a telephone conversation with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and agreed with him to discuss bilateral relations in Minsk, apart from the summit.

Kozyrev 'Clarifies' Yeltsin's Arms Initiative

PM1302190092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "Russia Offers To Separate Nuclear Warheads From Missiles"]

[Text] Geneva and Moscow—The high point of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's lightning visit to Geneva 12 February was two speeches—one at the Disarmament Conference, and one a few hours later at the UN Commission on Human Rights.

Kozyrev Explains and Clarifies Yeltsin's Disarmament Initiatives

Kozyrev's speech at the Disarmament Conference provided for the West something of an explanation and clarification of Boris Yeltsin's recent initiatives, which shook the world but left many questions unanswered. After the Russian minister's speech there were fewer unclear points.

For instance, he admitted, in effect, that CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] strategic missiles are still targeted on the United States, and although the political decision has been made, its implementation is a matter for a fairly lengthy period. (Hitherto experts were mystified as to how thousands of missiles could be retargeted overnight.)

Through Kozyrev, Moscow put forward new ideas in the disarmament sphere. According to members of the Russian delegation, it is not yet a question of specific proposals that must be implemented within a given time scale. "We launched a kind of trial balloon, indicating the main avenues along which the disarmament process could proceed. We do not expect an immediate response to our proposals," one Foreign Ministry expert said.

Moscow Calls for "Zero Combat Readiness" To Be Achieved

Russia's initiatives attracted much attention among the foreign mass media and experts. Two points in particular are singled out. First, it is proposed to remove entirely from alert status the missiles belonging to Russia, the United States, and other nuclear powers that are targeted on one another. In other words, that "zero combat readiness" be achieved. Though Russian diplomats admit that it is extremely difficult to verify [prokontrolirovat] missile guidance computer programs.

The second proposal is for missiles and nuclear warheads to be stored separately. As the delegation experts explained, the crux of the initiative is to ensure that weapons and delivery vehicles are far enough away from each other and that any movement could be picked up by satellites. In Kozyrev's opinion this would provide guarantees against "unauthorized or accidental use of nuclear weapons."

The Russian minister echoed the point expressed by Yeltsin in London and Paris, that Moscow does not insist that the other nuclear states—France, Britain, and China—should immediately join the rapid Russian-American disarmament process. "This question will become relevant when the nuclear arsenals are comparable," Kozyrev noted.

He stressed that Russia's disarmament initiatives were agreed beforehand with the CIS partners.

Moscow reaffirmed its readiness to get rid of chemical weapons, but not everything is going smoothly on this matter. Disagreements have arisen between Russia and the United States, which Kozyrev referred to, although he did not mention the Americans specifically. Washington is demanding the destruction of chemical weapons production plants on Russia's territory. Moscow objects, arguing in justification that these plants have already begun to produce peaceful output and that their closure is impermissible in the crisis conditions afflicting the country.

Instead of demolishing the unfortunate plants, Kozyrev proposed that authoritative international inspection teams be sent to Russia, who could dispel Washington's suspicions if any arise. In the opinion of Russian diplomats, certain nuances in the Americans' behavior at recent consultations allow us to assume that they will ultimately agree to that option.

Russia Will Deal in Weapons "On a Commercial Footing"

In his speech Kozyrev touched on the sensitive topic of the weapons trade, which diplomats (and not only ours) usually try to avoid. As he put it, Russia will not abandon arms sales, but henceforth this will take place "on a commercial footing." The minister stated that Moscow will avoid arms deliveries to unstable regions, unlike in past years, when Soviet weapons were sent mainly to ideological allies and not infrequently to the planet's hot spots.

Kazakhstan's Position on Nuclear Weapons Is Not Boosting the Republic's International Prestige

Touching on one of the most sensitive topics—the fate of the nuclear missiles sited in Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Ukraine—Kozyrev repeated Russia's well-known position: "We proceed on the basis that those three republics will accede to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons." Ukraine and Belarus have already made such a promise, as is well known, but Kazakhstan's position is still unclear.

Talking with journalists on board the plane, Kozyrev said nonetheless that he remains optimistic about the Kazakh nuclear weapons. "Kazakhstan has no alternative but to accede to the Nonproliferation Treaty. Maybe some people are suggesting to Nazarbayev that by leaving this question hanging, the republic can score points in the international arena. If so, these are patently unskilled advisers. The longer the mystery continues, the more severely the country's prestige will suffer. Nonproliferation of nuclear weapons is too serious a question for the world to tolerate vagueness. Credits and foreign aid could be jeopardized. When the Americans became suspicious about the Pakistani nuclear program, they applied sanctions against their own close ally."

Kozyrev clarified his terminology. In his opinion the Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan cannot be called nuclear countries, since Russia is the sole successor to the USSR in this respect. The other three republics have therefore acquired the status of "states on whose territory nuclear weapons are sited."

A few hours before leaving for Moscow Kozyrev spoke at the UN Commission for Human Rights. It was the first time in history the head of our diplomacy had taken part in such a session. In past years, for obvious reasons, Soviet representatives used to avoid this commission. Kozyrev set forth the view of the new Russia on human rights. Judging from the initial reaction, the UN experts were satisfied.

Weapons Transfer to Russia Going 'Smoothly'

LD1402100192 Moscow TASS in English 0856 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Kuznetsov]

[Text] New York February 14 TASS—Commander in chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov plans to press for "Extremely tough control over strategic forces and a milder form of centralization and control for conventional armed forces" at the Minsk meeting of CIS heads of state, scheduled for February 14. He said this in an interview with the American aerospace magazine "AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY" in New York during President Yeltsin's visit to the United States. The interview was published here today.

Shaposhnikov said there were no problems with the implementation of the agreement reached by CIS heads of state last December in Minsk on the perpetuation of centralised control over the former Union's nuclear forces. He also reiterated earlier made assurances that tough control over tactical nuclear weapons would be continued.

"All these armaments will be concentrated on the territory of Russia by the summer of 1992," he stated. "As to the transfer of these weapons, the process is going on smoothly in accordance with the fixed schedules and without any complications.

"Some states believe only nuclear strategic forces are really strategic," he said. "Therefore, we are now conducting extensive explanatory work to make everything clear to our colleagues in various states."

The marshal warned that attempts by CIS states to divide the former Union's Air Force and to set up national air forces on their basis would inevitably produce a shortage of fuel and spare parts. "The reason is that planes are assembled and spare parts to them are produced on the territory of Russia, and we have not created any special mechanism for selling these parts to the republics, if they choose to have their own air forces," the marshal stated. "This is why I favour centralised control over the armed forces, otherwise "The defence ministers of these republics will be confronted with difficulties which, in turn, will bring hardships to the Air Force personnel."

Shaposhnikov noted that purchases of new military hardware for the Army were being cut and the saved money would be used to improve the living conditions of servicemen. "We are also reducing the serial production of hardware, since we were formally prone to press for quantity," he stated. "Now we must press for quality," Shaposhnikov noted.

The marshal said that the armed forces' spendings on research and designing were also being cut, but not so abruptly as expenditures on new hardware. "We must

not lag behind in the development of new armaments even though the danger of war has diminished substantially. But it has not been done away with completely," Shaposhnikov stressed.

He said the armed forces did not renounce their plans to build aircraft carriers and that they planned to continue work on new modifications of Su-27 and MiG-29 deck aircraft. At the same time, he stated that the programme for developing early radar spotting and warning A-50 planes was being revised. He said this aircraft proved inferior to the American analogue as regards tactical and technical performance.

Yeltsin's Response to U.S. Arms Cuts 'Positive'

PM0702152592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by A. Matveyev: "Bush's Initiatives Discussed in Congress"]

[Text] If the U.S. President was hoping to improve his image in the eyes of Americans by putting forward proposals in the disarmament sphere, then, as public opinion polls have shown, this has not happened. Moreover, the disarmament agenda, which is linked to the country's economic problems, is becoming an election campaign theme.

Evidence of this was provided by an incident that took place at the White House. "The President's photo call with members of the National Association of Governors," CBS reports, "unexpectedly turned into an open political confrontation between the head of the Republican administration and Democrats in the White House."

According to journalists, when the President good-humoredly appealed for support for his draft federal budget, Colorado State Governor R. Romer suddenly demanded an answer from Bush as to why he does not want to use the "peace dividends." According to the governor, if the administration were to reduce military expenditure by $100 billion over five years (the White House is planning a $50 billion cut), it could direct funds into the social and economic sphere.

The President, clearly irritated, immediately entered the fray. He demanded that the governor couch his demand in more specific terms and say precisely which military bases he would propose shutting down, which arms programs he would discontinue, how many people he would put out of a job, and where jobs for them should be found in the future. It is clear that the White House does not tolerate dilettantism in the sphere of disarmament.

A discussion of these same problems took place far more calmly in the Senate Budget Committee. This was addressed by U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney and General C. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In their statements they justified both the possibility of the proposed cuts and their size.

Events in East Europe, the disappearance of the Soviet Union, and the emergence of independent states in its place, the Pentagon chief noted, have not only lifted "the threat of an extensive attack on the West, but have also opened the way for a new era of cooperation in East Europe and Eurasia." At the present time, in Cheney's opinion, the United States is confronting "neither a global threat nor a hostile undemocratic power that dominates in a region with key significance for our interests. Therefore we have the potential to confront danger at lower levels and with fewer losses."

Cheney stressed that Russian President B. Yeltsin has given a positive response to U.S. initiatives in the disarmament sphere. Let us note, however, that in several interviews the defense secretary himself has been extremely skeptical regarding the acceptability to Washington of Moscow's counterproposals. In Cheney's opinion, if U.S.-Soviet talks are successful, it will be possible to cut by around one-half the number of warheads on strategic arms systems from the level approved by the START Treaty.

The tone of Gen. Powell's statement was somewhat different. He reiterated Bush's familiar pronouncement that the United States has won the "cold war" and can now cut back its Armed Forces without jeopardizing its security. One of the most marked features of the new world, he stressed, is that America is the only superpower. In particular, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff singled out the idea that, while it is introducing changes to the structure of the Armed Forces and reducing military expenditure, the United States in no way intends to give up its active role in world affairs.

Commentary on U.S.-Russian Space Cooperation

LD1002200992 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] In last week's speeches in Paris and Brussels Mr. Henry Cooper who is in charge of America's Strategic Defense Initiative hailed President Yeltsin's proposal for a worldwide antimissile system.

In his view the two countries stand to profit from bilateral cooperation in space research, given Russia's achievements in space-related technologies, such as directed energy systems, neutral particle beams, and power reactors for space application. For their part, U.S. experts say the Russians appear to be ahead in nuclear power systems that would orbit in space and components for electric propulsion units for rockets.

AVIATION WEEK AND TECHNOLOGY reckons joint space research by Russia and the United States could save the nation more than four billion dollars in

Star Wars development costs and also help booster the troubled economy of the former Soviet Republics.

However, until recently Washington disapproved of any bilateral deals with Russia involving high technologies. A policy analyst for the Federation of American Scientists said recently that SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] had been the leading advocate for purchasing Soviet technology more than a year now and that the administration's response overall had been absolute [word indistinct].

Other problems emerge: As work is now in progress to create a global missile defense shield, experts raise doubts both about its effectiveness and expediency. The main argument in favor of such a system is the protection of would-be signatories against a missile attack by terrorist or extremist regimes. Some counts put the number of countries likely to be in possession of ballistic missiles by the turn of the century at 24 at least, which in itself gives rise to a question of whether the establishment of the global shield may not lead to an increase in that number.

One other problem is the continuance of the 1972 ABM [Anti-Ballistic Missile] Treaty. The Americans want to amend it to increase the number of antimissile systems above what is permitted under the treaty as well as to lift a ban on the testing and deployment of weapons in space.

In the meantime, both Moscow and Washington agree that the ABM Treaty is an important factor of international stability, while the United States Congress imposed a ban on the development of space weapons under an SDI program.

Away from all doubts it is most encouraging that Russia and the United States have begun discussions about a global security system as partners seeking to become allies.

UK Experts To Help Dismantle Arsenal

LD1102072292 Moscow TASS in English 0616 GMT 11 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Rostislav Gertsev]

[Text] London February 11 TASS—A group of British experts, representing ministries of foreign affairs and defence of Great Britain left on Monday [10 February] for Moscow for consultation and help in destroying a part of Russia's nuclear arsenal.

The team of specialists will concentrate its attention on those problems, in solving which according to the Russian authorities, Western help is most needed.

The main object of the British experts, in particular, will be control over the nuclear warheads. According to the British specialists, there exists a danger of loosening control over the warheads during the process of their dismantling, transporting and storing.

Iran Seeks Muslim Republics' Experts for Bomb

LD1402093592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0720 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, February 14 (TANJUG)—Iran is trying to recruit experts for nuclear power from the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union to begin building an Iranian atomic bomb.

This was announced late on Thursday [13 February] by the Georgian independent news agency IPRINDA, citing its "own sources."

The agency said nuclear experts from those republics have been offered an annual salary of 200,000 pounds sterling.

Reports that Soviet nuclear experts, dissatisfied with their status and uncertain future, are going abroad to earn more have been denied in Russia and some other republics of the former Soviet Union.

As revealed recently, in Russia alone, there are more than 100,000 experts working on the building of nuclear weapons. Their number is believed to be much smaller in the other republics though.

PRC Decides To Restrict Missile Exports

OW0802191692 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 8 Feb 92

[From the "Current Event and Commentary" program]

[Text] Listeners, China has made a written statement reiterating its decision to abide by international agreements on restricting exports of ballistic missiles and rocket technology. This was asserted in a report published by AFP. In this connection, our observer Alekseyev wrote a commentary.

Listeners and friends, let me review the essence of this issue and the circumstances that gave rise to it. In the fall of 1991 the U.S. State Department began to impose economic sanctions against China on the basis of a report that China exported to Pakistan launching equipment for ballistic missiles. The sanctions included a ban on providing China with certain modern computer technology. Since then, the United States and other Western countries have held that China has not been assuming responsibility for nonproliferation of ballistic missiles and rocket technology; for this reason they have been disturbed. They also pointed out that as the situation is still unstable and conflicts still exist in some areas—most of all in Asia—exporting rocket technology to these areas will bring about extremely dangerous consequences.

It should be pointed out that the emergence of modern ballistic missiles in Pakistan will certainly create danger.

When U.S. Secretary of State Baker made his first trip to Beijing in November last year, he mentioned certain issues, including the issue of China's export of ballistic missiles and rocket technology. Baker hinted that the

improvement of U.S.-Sino relations will depend to a large extent on Beijing's attitude toward this issue—which the United States and many other countries are concerned about. At that time the Chinese leaders assured the U.S. Secretary of State that China had no intention of exporting rocket technology to Pakistan or any other country. According to reports by various news agencies, the assurance failed to satisfy the U.S. guest of honor. Baker said the United States will be able to discuss the question of abolishing the relevant ballistic missile sanction only if Beijing makes a written statement. Now the U.S. State Department has received an official letter from Beijing reaffirming the above assurance. Baker was satisfied with the letter. He told the press that a careful study of the letter is needed, but he believed that Beijing had taken a correct and important (step). He said that if this is true, the United States is prepared to cancel the sanctions whose imposition began in the fall of last year. Thus, one of the obstacles hindering the improvement of U.S.-Sino relations will be removed.

'More Than 100' Nonmilitary Explosions in USSR

LD1302221892 Stockholm Radio Sweden in English 1930 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] A Swedish newspaper has reported that the former Soviet Union carried out more than 100 nuclear explosions for nonmilitary purposes up to 1988. The newspaper DAGENS NYHETER says the controversial detonations were for oil prospecting, mining, creating artificial lakes, and to bury nuclear wastes. DAGENS NYHETER quotes the head of the Russian nuclear weapons program, who says the Commonwealth of Independent States will carry out further atomic blasts to bury nuclear and chemical weapons. He also claims the United States has carried out 40 such explosions in Nevada.

USSR Carried Out Nuclear Tests in Ukraine

LD1302144192 Moscow TASS in English 1948 GMT 12 Jan 92

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Sergey Balykov]

[Text] Kiev February 12 TASS—Part of the Ukrainian territory was used by the military command of the former Soviet Union as a nuclear test range. One of the nuclear explosions was carried out in 1979 in the "Yunkom" mine in the city of Yenakiyevo in the Donetsk region, Ukraine, according to a press release issued by the anti-militarist commission of the Ukrainian Ecological Association "Zeleny Svit" (Green Light) and the Ukrainian Peace Committee, and distributed today among Ukrainian journalists.

In the course of the news conference, members of the ecological association presented maps of ecological disaster regions where military objects were located, documentary photographs and samples of drinking water. According to a spokesman for the Goskompriroda (State Committee for Environmental Control), military objects in Ukraine occupy about one million hectares of land, which is either poisoned now or turned into dumps for damaged military equipment and waste.

The association appealed to the Ukrainian parliament and government with a statement demanding guarantees for proper environmental protection, strict ecological control in the military sphere and investigations of all ecological crimes by the procurator's office.

Secretary Baker Visits Caucasus, Central Asia

Baker Visit Viewed

PM1302162992 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by A. Vasilyev: "Will There Be a Baker's Street in CIS? It Would Appear That U.S. Secretary of State Is Looking After Our Own Affairs Even More Than His Own"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker flew in to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] from the German city of Frankfurt, where he had been seeing off on its long journey the first plane heading toward the boundless expanses of the Commonwealth with humanitarian aid, in the framework of operation "Provide Hope." Baker will be visiting the intended destinations of these aircraft in the former republics of the former Soviet Union. This is just the time for Baker to pose before the TV cameras a little, with the humanitarian aid in the background: The presidential elections are just round the corner for the White House administration.

That is evidently the domestic political aspect of Baker's visit. There is also a foreign political aspect: He must demonstrate U.S. concern over the problems of nuclear weapons on CIS territory, and also the future of nuclear scientists. The United States fears that in search of ordinary worldly happiness the nuclear scientists will begin to make their way to Iran, Iraq, and Libya, where they will be put to work on a "Muslim bomb."

Yesterday Baker flew from Yerevan to Baku: In the two hostile capitals he discussed the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. Of course, he could hardly in the course of a few hours facilitate the solution of the conflict, but the main thing for Washington was to "fly the flag." The United States does not intend to get involved closely in Nagorno-Karabakh because it does not figure in its sphere of vital interests, but the United States supports the policy of European countries on this question.

In the Central Asian republics the secretary of state is confronted by a somewhat different task. THE NEW YORK TIMES writes on this subject: "In view of the fact that, from a strategic viewpoint, these republics are a sort of bridge between Europe and Asia, the problem for U.S political strategists, an intelligence spokesman said, is whether they will decide to link their future to the secular West or the fundamentalist East."

In this situation the inhabitants of Central Asia can only be envied. Their leaders could now play on the clash of interests between the United States and, say, Iran—hovering between them, receiving credits and aid from both the Western "democrats" and Eastern "fundamentalists": A customary policy on the part of developing countries which has proved its effectiveness more than once.

U.S. business, in principle, does not care with whom it collaborates: representatives of the "democratic wave" or "turncoat communists." The main thing is for there to be stability and order in the state, so as to ensure the untrammeled receipt of profits. Unfortunately, this is not understood in Pussia. When meeting leaders of the business world in the United States, Boris Yeltsin accused them of being slow to invest capital in Russia: "At our last meeting I promised you that I would destroy communism, and I have kept my promise. So why are you still dithering?"

The Americans are "dithering" because, along with communism, stability has also disappeared in Russia. Maybe Central Asia is not threatened with this?

'Arc of Crises' Tour

PM1302151992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by A. Balusov: "Baker Has Arrived. He Will Arbitrate For Everyone. The U.S. Secretary of State's Visit to the 'Arc of Crises' Continues"]

[Text] From Kishinev, where there was a conversation with Moldovan President M. Snegur, J. Baker has gone to Yerevan. For future stability in the region it is very important that the Karabakh question be resolved peacefully, the head of the U.S. foreign policy department told journalists.

Although the itinerary of Baker's present visit did not envisage going to Nagorno-Karabakh, this "trouble spot" is at the center of the Secretary of State's attention during his tour of the Transcaucasus. The Nagorno-Karabakh problem was also the key theme in Baker's "one on one" conversation with Azerbaijan President A. Mutalibov in Baku.

After Azerbaijan Baker is due in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. His heightened interest in the Central Asian republics is clearly no coincidence, observers are noting. It seems that the Americans have suddenly remembered them and become worried by the growing struggle for influence in this region. The direction in which processes here develop will also determine the future of the military-political situation in other parts of the world. First and foremost the Near East, South Asia, and the Persian Gulf. The struggle for influence over the Muslim states of the former USSR is being launched not only between Turkey and Iran. Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, China, Afghanistan, and many others also have interests here. Washington of course, as a "supporter" of Turkey, is not averse i'self to drawing the Central Asian and Transcaucasian states over to the West and of wresting them from the possible influence of Islamic fundamentalism. The secretary of state's statements on the U.S. readiness to recognize these states and establish diplomatic relations with them could be a first step in this direction.

Baker's trip along the "arc of crises" of the CIS—such is the name that the mass media have given to the U.S. Secretary of State's present visit—also demonstrates the great concern in the West at the uncontroled disintegration of the former USSR and the aggravation of ethnic conflicts which in the event of their escalation will create a threat to security not only regionally but also globally. Thus it may be presumed that the United States, by dint of its economic potential and political prestige, will also try to play a stabilizing role in the settlement of the conflicts on CIS territory.

Results 'Successful'

PM1302142192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Sergey Bablumyan and Vasif Samedov: "In Yerevan and Baku Baker Discusses Karabakh Problem; in Dushanbe He Sees Answers to 'Islamic Question'"]

[Text] Yerevan-Baku—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's brief working visit to Armenia has ended. On 11 February the eminent guest was received by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

To judge by the official assessments, the results of the meeting in Yerevan are assessed here as successful. The Armenian president stressed that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Armenia, on which the two sides had reached agreement, will promote the stabilization of the situation in the region.

As was to be expected one of the main subjects of the conversation was the Karabakh problem. Answering journalists' question about the U.S. role in resolving it, Levon Ter-Petrosyan said in particular that in his opinion the United States is already taking part in the settlement of the conflict. The United States supported the peace mission of Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev. He expressed the conviction that the United States will continue to promote the solution of the Karabakh problem.

However, it has become known from one member of the U.S. delegation, who provided the information on condition that he remain anonymous, that J. Baker does not intend to speak on this question on either the Armenian or the Azerbaijani side.

On the morning of 12 February U.S. Secretary of State stopped over briefly in Baku. He met with Azerbaijan President A. Mutalibov.

The talks which took place touched on problems of the transformations taking place in Azerbaijan. J. Baker was familiarized with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and the reasons for the emergence of the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia. In A. Mutalibov's opinion, the United States could make a positive contribution to the establishment of peace in the region. At the same time he rejected the idea of stationing UN peace-keeping troops in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Central Asian Leaders To Attend ECO Summit

NC0702064992 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2000 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Excerpt] The leaders of Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan will participate in the Economic Cooperation Organization [ECO] summit in Tehran on 16-17 February. Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey are members of this organization. [passage omitted]

Trade Unions Appeals to Commonwealth Leaders

LD1202220592 Moscow TASS in English 2118 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 13 ITAR-TASS—The World Trade Union Confederation expressed its concern about the hard social and economic situation in the countries of the former Soviet Union. The skyrocketing prices without sufficient compensation are creating intolerable conditions for the working people, students and pensioners, according to an appeal of the confederation to heads of state of the Commonwealth countries on the eve of the Minsk summit meeting.

"We consider it important that your decisions will ensure the maintaining and strengthening of a single economic space within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States with due consideration for interests of the other countries of the former Soviet Union. We would like this economic space to impart a reliable character to the market relations which are being formed, and make it possible for you to take effective measures for creating decent living conditions for the people", the document said.

The World Trade Union Confederation also stated the necessity of creating a common social space which will guarantee the purchasing power of the people in terms of their wages, pensions and scholarships, ensure normal labour conditions and the adoption of the appropriate legislation protecting life, human dignity and fundamental human rights in the commonwealth countries.

The authors of the document urge the Commonwealth leaders to take immediate measures for the settlement of inter-ethnic and inter- state conflicts, and any other controversial issues dividing the peoples and countries of the Commonwealth, steps in the interests of ordinary people wherever they live.

Information-Commercial Network Branch Set Up

LD0702232392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1755 GMT 6 Feb 92

[From the "Business News" section: "Information-Commercial Network Put Into Operation"—POSTFACTUM headline]

[Text] Yekaterinburg [dateline as received] A city Central station of the Information-Commercial network Mir-Technezis was put into operation in Yekaterinburg on February 5.

Technezis-service director Boris Oberyukhtin told PF [POSTFACTUM] that Mir-Technezis will connect by computer communication 12 basic regional stations, situated in the largest cities of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltic region and Central Asia. City central stations will be connected with basic regional stations. Every user will have his own code and access to a general data bank.

The project is being financed by the international corporation Technezis. The U.S. firm IBM is also taking part in the project. it intends to provide the network with computer facilities at a 35 percent discount. In the future it is planned to integrate Mir-Technezis into a global international information-commercial [as received]. The implementation of the project is expected to take two years.

Technezis-Service is a branch of the international corporation Technezis. It specializes on servicing and developing software.

Technezis is a joint-stock company of a closed type with the authorized capital of 10 million rubles. It was registered at the Russian Finance Ministry in March 1991. The corporation was founded by the Soviet-British joint venture Ural, the commercial Sreduralbank, Soviet GmbH (Germany), Unikon GmbH (Germany, and the French firm Teknesis-France). It has 42 branches and 80 subsidiary firms abroad (in Germany, France, Switzerland, Britain, Singapore, Italy, Poland, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Belgium). The corporation specializes on holding business.

South Africa Ready To Establish Relations

OW1102174392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1557 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kazakhstan and South Africa declared their readiness to establish diplomatic relations and cultivate trade and economic ties, it was reported following the Alma-Ata meeting between the Kazakh President Nazarbayev and South Africa's envoy Olivier.

Nazarbayev and Olivier emphasized the need to arrange for information exchanges between the two countries and open trade representative office. Nazarbayev invited South Africa's President de Klerk to pay an official visit to Kazakhstan.

On February 10 South Africa's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary Swart presented his credentials to Bronislavas Kuzmickas, Lithuanian deputy parliament leader.

The Russian Foreign Ministry would not give detailed information to DP [Diplomatic Panorama] concerning prospects for the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Russia and South Africa. A senior staffer of the Foreign Ministry said only that "there are certain considerations regarding this. But it is too early yet to spell out the plans."

At the current stage Russia and South Africa only have consular relations that were established late last year during an unofficial visit to Moscow by South Africa's Foreign Minister Botha. These relations could have been upgraded as a result of talks between South Africa's President de Klerk and former Soviet President Gorbachev. The talks were scheduled for late December 1992 but did not take place because of the breakup of the Union.

Saudi Arabia Helps Muslim Religious Directorate

LD0702192692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2153 GMT 5 Feb 92

[From the "External Economic Relations" section]

[Text] Kazan—Head of the Moslem Religious Directorate of Europe and Siberia, Mufti Talgat-Khazret Tadjuddin, received 1.5 mln [million] dollars from Saudi Arabia.

According to the February 5 report of Kazan SUVERENITET daily, the money was allocated by the Saudi Government for opening of three mosques and six Koran study centers in Tatarstan, Bashkortostan and Moscow, as well as for the transliteration of Tatar and Bashkir languages into Arabic graphics.

Turkey, Iran Compete for Republics' Influence

PM1202134792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "Tehran Has Declared a 'Great Battle' for Influence in Central Asia. Russia, United States, and Turkey Are Seeking To Stop Iran Winning That Battle"]

[Text] "After 70 years the great battle for influence in Central Asia has resumed," an editorial in the official Iranian newspaper TEHRAN TIMES proclaims. As for the Islamic Republic's leaders, they are perhaps less forthright in their comments in that they are avoiding bellicose vocabulary, but they are quite definite in what they say. Having failed in the attempts to export Islamic revolution to neighboring Arab states, Tehran is turning its gaze toward the Central Asian republics and Azerbaijan in the hope that fundamentalism will be able to fill the political vacuum formed in those countries after the collapse of communism and the weakening of Moscow's influence.

The prospect of Iranian ideological expansion into the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union is equally

daunting to Russia, the United States, and Turkey alike. During a recent visit to Ankara Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev found full mutual understanding with Turkish leaders, who share Moscow's misgivings at the possible "Islamicization of Central Asia." The United States, for its part, also hints that it will not remain on the sidelines of the struggle for influence over the Muslim states of the former USSR. Citing reliable sources in the U.S. Administration, THE NEW YORK TIMES reports that Washington has begun consultations with Turkey and Egypt in an endeavor to coordinate efforts aimed at drawing Central Asia into the West's sphere of influence.

It is unlikely that Washington is now hoping for economic or political penetration of Central Asia. There is no need for this at the moment. At their present stage of economic development the Islamic republics of the former Union hold little attraction for U.S. business. But Washington could well exercise political control through its reliable allies Turkey and Egypt, as representatives of "moderate Islam" opposing Iranian fundamentalism.

Secretary of State Baker's tour of Central Asia begins Monday [10 February]. He will visit Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan (the Secretary of State has already been to two other states in the region, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan). Most probably the itinerary will also include Azerbaijan. This week Baker advocated establishing diplomatic relations with that republic, which, however, does not stop him criticizing Baku for its aggressive policy toward Armenia.

By all accounts, in the developing struggle for the Central Asian republics Turkey, backed by Washington, has all the preconditions for victory over Tehran. Ankara has the trump card of firm economic positions. In addition, ethnically and religiously, the majority of the (Sunni) Muslim republics of the former USSR are closer to Turkey than to Iran. The admission of all the Asian states of the disintegrated Union to the CSCE was an important diplomatic triumph for Ankara, the West, and of course Russia. They are thus joining in the European process and assuming certain commitments in the sphere of human rights, democratization, the control of arms exports, and so forth. The Azerbaijan foreign minister has stated quite plainly: "We have chosen the Turkish option. Like Turkey, our republic is committed to Western democratic values. We oppose Islamic fundamentalism and reject the Iranian path of development."

Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev has spoken in the same vein. In an interview for Austria's DIE PRESSE newspaper, he did not rule out the possibility of forming a commonwealth of Turkic states. The Kazakh leader, whose country is trying to secure a leading position among the Asian republics of the former USSR, prefers unification on ethnic, not religious, grounds. Although Nazarbayev has not specified what kind of "commonwealth" he envisaged, it is logical to presume that this means mainly an economic union. Turkey (at an official level at any rate) opposes pan-Turkic political unification.

Nazarbayev himself, who feels to some extent a hostage of the Russian-speaking majority, will hardly want to exacerbate interethnic relations in the republic. A sharp political move by Alma-Ata away from Russia toward Turkey would inevitably arouse a protest from the Russian, Ukrainian, and German populations of Kazakhstan's northwestern oblasts and inflame the separatist sentiments which have temporarily died down.

Iran To Build Oil Pipeline With Republics

OW1302193892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1858 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Valeriu Muravski, Moldovan Prime Minister, speaking on Thursday [13 February] in parliament announced his government's intention to finance the construction of an oil pipeline from Iran with help from Ukraine and Azerbaijan. Muravski also referred to the existence of real opportunities coming from the sources of Middle Eastern oil. The Prime Minister stated that in the near future Moldova would start negotiations for deliveries of Kuwaiti oil.

Implications of Feud Over Black Sea Fleet Eyed

PM1302132992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Report by S. Milyanchikov and S. Murazov—from the "Vestii newscast]

[Text] [Milyanchikov] The mutinous admiral, Kasatonov's gang, the third defense of Sevastopol—what epithets have we have not heard in Ukraine since the debate about the Black Sea Fleet started. The dispute between Russia and Ukraine concerning ownership of the Black Sea Fleet has been going on for over a month. If the fleet comes under the authority of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] then Ukraine will cease its supplies to it. Everything, including rivets, will be brought in from other republics. If it is transferred to Ukraine, many of these beautiful ships [video shows ships] will go to their resting place in the ship graveyard. As you will remember, the republic leaders have repeatedly stated that the fleet would be reduced. The question of the future of the Black Sea Fleet will be examined in Minsk 14 February.

U.S., Baltic Sea Fleets Exercises Successful

LD1302153692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Stetsyuk—TASS]

Black Sea Fleet, 13 Feb (TASS)—The first joint exercises by ships of the Black Sea Fleet and the U.S. Sixth Fleet have been successfully completed in the Mediterranean Sea.

Taking part in the exercises were the big anti-submarine vessel Kerch, the escort vessel Bezukoriznennyy, and the missile fire control frigate Simpson. The ships, under the command of Vice Admiral Petr Svyatashov, practised tactical maneuvering methods. It was an unusual spectacle to watch the U.S. frigate accurately carrying out our admiral's commands.

The command of the Black Sea Fleet and the U.S. Sixth Fleet highly assessed the exercises which were carried out, with the Americans observing in particular: "We really enjoyed the actions of the ships of the Black Sea Fleet."

Ukraine, Belarus To Join Council of Europe

LD1202193692 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus will acquire status of member states of the Council of Europe at the May assembly of this authoritative European organization. This was declared in an interview for journalists by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine Ivan Plyushch after returning of the republic's parliamentary delegation from France. Ukraine, said Ivan Plyushch, is recognized in the world as an equal European state.

Baltic Prime Ministers To Visit Sweden

PM1302120092 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 12 Feb 92 p A7

[Unattributed report: "Baltic Leaders To Visit in March"]

[Text] The three Baltic prime ministers will pay official visits to Sweden in March.

The Swedish government has invited the heads of government of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania to Stockholm, and by yesterday all three had accepted the invitations.

Ivars Godmanis from Latvia will arrive on 10 March, Gediminas Vagnorius from Lithuania on 17 March, and Tiit Vahi from Estonia on 31 March.

Prime Minister Carl Bildt told DAGENS NYHETER that the Swedish aid programs for the Baltic nations will be more or less ready, to coincide with the prime ministers' visits.

Taiwanese Aide on 'Unofficial' CIS Visits

MK1202124492 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 16 Feb 92 p 12

["MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Information" under the general heading: "Two Chinas or One?"]

[Text] At the end of January this year John Chiang, Taiwan deputy foreign minister (and Chiang Kai-shek's grandson), made an unofficial visit to Kiev and Moscow. He visited us in his capacity as chairman of Taiwan's industrial commission. This first visit by a high-ranking Taipei official to the USSR and CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] received virtually no press coverage. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI tried to find out the details of the trip from the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry. The press department told us that "John Chiang did not come to Ukraine through Ukrainian diplomatic department channels." However, the Ukrainian foreign economic department said that he was probably in Kiev as a private individual. More is known about the results of his trip to Moscow. In particular, an agreement was reached on a major shipment of Taiwan humanitarian aid to Russia that will start to arrive as of April in Vladivostok and Novorossiysk. According to information received by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI BIZNES, the aid will amount to one-third of the annual foreign rice shipments to Russia.

Commonwealth

Continuing Developments at Minsk Summit Viewed

Black Sea Questions Not Examined

LD1302134892 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] The Minsk conference of ministers of defense and experts on military questions of the Commonwealth countries has ended. Marshal Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, reported to our correspondent that an accord has been reached on all the questions discussed. So, the military is ready to submit the package of their documents at the meeting of the CIS heads of state and governments. To the question by our correspondent, how was the problem of the Black Sea Fleet resolved, the marshal replied that this question was not examined, and that a political decision has to be made on it.

The heads of 10 states are arriving in Minsk today. Today Russia's President Yeltsin flies out, and tomorrow morning Ukrainian President Kravchuk is expected to arrive.

Nazarbayev Arrives

LD1302165692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1608 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] Minsk, 13 Feb (BELTA-ITAR-TASS)—Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev thinks that there is no Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] in the form it was intended. He expressed this view to journalists today on arrival in the Belarussian capital to take part in a meeting of the CIS heads of state. The president said the military question will be the main question at tomorrow's meeting.

Nazarbayev said that so far no bilateral or trilateral meetings between presidents have been planned: "They do not have any meaning since all the presidents have gathered together." According to him, although at the moment documents may be accepted, mutual obligations are not observed and there is no control mechanism on their fulfillment.

In a conversation with journalists, the Kazakhstan president spoke about the need to preserve a single ruble area. Then, he said, "the economic situation in independent states as well as in the people's lives will improve."

Nursultan Nazarbayev was met at the airport by Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet.

Mutalibov on Armed Forces

LD1302173692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] Minsk, 13 Feb (BELTA-TASS)—"There is nothing terrible about the fact that the independent states are to have their own armed forces. It is another matter how their interaction should be established within the framework of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. There is a clear attribute of the independence of a state, namely its frontiers and army", said Azerbaijan's President Ayaz Mutalibov, who today arrived in Minsk to attend the meeting of heads of state of the CIS.

The chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, Stanislav Shushkevich, who welcomed the president of Azerbaijan, also expressed his point of view. In his opinion their is no option but to keep the Armed Forces under a single command. "I am convinced," he said, "that machinery must be set up to resolve issues concerning the control of the Armed Forces as they arise." As an example he cited such military organizations as the Warsaw Treaty and the currently existing NATO bloc, in which armed forces of various countries are united under a unitary command.

In reply to a question about possible trilateral meetings of the leaders of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus, Stanislav Shushkevich said that "Belarus is not planning any such meetings. We have no tertiary issues, we have common issues." All the planned documents have been prepared, he said, but not on all points is there a "unity approach."

Shaposhnikov's 'Main Hope'

LD1302190692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent A. Shashkov] The three-day conference at which the military drew up a package of documents for the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] leaders ended in Minsk today. It will be considered in the Belarussian capital tomorrow. [Video shows Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, speaking with journalists outdoors.]

[Begin Shaposhnikov recording] All the documents have been finalized and agreed at the level of defense ministers, and I hope all 13 documents will be considered by the heads of state tomorrow.

[Shashkov] After ending their work, the participants in the conference managed to see for themselves once more what has been entrusted to them. At the Machulishche military airfield, military pilots demonstrated miracles both in equipment and training.

Of course, this air show, like the majority of military parades, is purely an exercise in applied politics. The military is trying to protect the Army against the politicians, and they never tire of repeating that each aircraft is made in at least 600 factories and that to split up the Air Force would be tantamount to destroying it. Tomorrow will show whether Marshal Shaposhnikov's

hopes will come true. [Video again shows Shaposhnikov speaking with journalists outdoors.]

[Begin Shaposhnikov recording] My main hope is that we shall establish new armed forces and that this will be done with the fewest possible losses for our personnel and without tears and suffering for our officers, our wives, and our families. Ultimately, I dream of an army which does not have to think about its daily bread. [end recording]

Yeltsin Arrives, Comments

LD1402075392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0621 GMT 14 Feb 92

[News conference with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and unidentified correspondents in Minsk on 13 February—recorded]

[Text] [First announcer] Listen to how Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was met.

[Second announcer] Yes, we want to offer you this recording.

[Unidentified voices] Boris Nikolayevich, Boris Nikolayevich.

[Correspondent] Will there be a single armed forces for the CIS?

[Yeltsin] Tomorrow we will discuss this. After that we will tell you at a news conference. You should not guess in advance. Tomorrow there will be a discussion. The defense ministers have met and intialled these documents. Tomorrow the heads of state will discuss them.

[Correspondent] Will you issue a decree on a Russian army?

[Yeltsin] Not yet.

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, you have sent Rutskoy to agriculture. Does this not remind you of cases of former CPSU leaders when they were no longer suitable?

[Yeltsin] You have Ligachev in mind? [laughter] Well, in principle I think his age is good. Rutskoy has the character and energy to work 48 hours a day. Therefore let him rush about Russia, and where reforms are being sabotaged let him introduce order so the land and agrarian reforms continue; let him support farms. The government and president will support him in this work, but at the same time hold him accountable. He will be occupied with this work.

Package 'Virtually Ready'

LD1302183792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1646 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By unidentified BELTA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, 13 February (TASS)—The whole package of 13 military issues that were planned are virtually ready with the exception of two or three secondary documents. This was revealed today to BELTA and ITAR-TASS correspondents by Ivan Korotchen, chairman of the Coordination Council of the group for the preparation and carrying out of the meetings of the Council of Heads of States and the Council of Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. Whether they will be signed tomorrow is a matter for the politicians.

Ivan Korotchen does not rule out the possibility that the Ukrainian delegation will not sign six or seven of these 13 documents. He also said that four economic issues, which were not discussed in Moscow last Saturday [8 February] at the meeting of the Council of Heads of Governments, will be included on the agenda of tomorrow's meeting. They include a single railway system, economic interaction in the CIS, and a differentiated approach to profitability within a region of 50 percent.

Draft Military Agreements

LD1302190992 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By unidentified BELTA correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Minsk February 13 TASS—The question of the Armed Forces will be the main subject of discussion at a meeting of the heads of state of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), opening here on Friday [14 February].

Ivan Korotchen, coordinator of the working group for the preparation and holding of sessions of the CIS Council of the Heads of State and the Council of the Heads of Government, told journalists today that the following draft documents had been prepared for discussion:

1. An agreement on the powers of CIS supreme bodies on defense affairs.
2. An agreement among CIS member-states on legal principles for the activities of joint Armed Forces.
3. A decision by the CIS council of the heads of state on common military regulations for the joint Armed Forces.
4. An agreement on the formation of a single defence budget and a procedure to finance the joint Armed Forces.
5. An agreement on the status of the CIS strategic forces.
6. An agreement on general-purpose forces for the transitional period.
7. An agreement on social and legal guarantees for servicemen, persons discharged from the military service and members of their families.
8. An agreement on organising an intelligence support for the joint Armed Forces.
9. A decision by the CIS Heads of State on the main command of the CIS Armed Forces.
10. An agreement on principles for manning the joint Armed Forces and military service in them.

11. An agreement on principles for material and technical supply and ensurance of proper everyday living conditions for the joint Armed Forces.
12. An agreement on law enforcement agencies of the CIS Armed Forces.
13. An address by the CIS heads of state to the servicemen of the new Commonwealth.

Divergent Views Expressed

LD1302202692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By unidentified BELTA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, February 13 (TASS)— The heads of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] member states, who are to take part in the summit on 14 February, have now started to arrive in the capital of Belarus. The leaders of Moldova, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Russia have now arrived in Minsk. The leaders of Kyrgyzstan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan are expected to arrive late this evening.

A representative of the Georgian leadership is expected to take part in the meeting as an observer. In the meantime the heads of the military departments, the experts, and Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, who gathered here have settled and initialled 13 documents on military issues. These documents will be at the center of attention at the summit meeting. The future of the Armed Forces of the former Soviet Union depends on whether these documents will be adopted.

Differences in the approaches by the heads of states towards the military problem are reflected in the statements made by them at the airport on their arrival in Minsk. Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, who met the guests spoke unequivocally in favor of preserving the united Armed Forces of the Commonwealth.

On the other hand, Mircea Snegur said just as unequivocally that Moldova has been creating its own army and that he does not intend to take part in forming the united armed forces. A similar position was voiced by Saparmurad Niyazov, the president of Turkmenistan. In reply to the question whether the CIS united Armed Forces will still exist after tomorrow's meeting, he said: "I do not think so."

Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev thinks that the most important aspect of the military problem is the social protection of servicemen. Russian President Boris Yeltsin essentially declined to make any forecasts and suggested to wait for the results of the meeting of the heads of states. Although Leonid Kravchuk, the president of the Ukraine, has not yet arrived in Minsk, his position on military issues is quite well-known.

In addition to military issues, the meeting agenda includes economic questions, in particular those which were not resolved last Saturday at the Moscow meeting of heads of governments.

More Leaders Comment

LD1302230292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The theme of the Armed Forces and the resolution of this question may be considered the keystone to the fate of the Commonwealth. For an analysis of the situation we present for your attention the remarks of the leaders recorded in the mass media in the past two weeks. [Video shows stills of leaders and transcripts of their words.]

[Askar Akayev] Although we have all taken many steps toward the collapse of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], the realities of life will prevail.

[Levon Ter-Petrosyan] If the present Army collapses, what will then be the Russian army will be present in Armenia on a treaty basis, possibly with the status of military bases.

[Islam Karimov] We are not opposed to there being a single command of the strategic forces. Let us create a single armed forces like NATO.

[Ayaz Mutalibov] Most likely, it is only after the creation of one's own armed forces that a common CIS military-strategic expanse can appear.

[Nursultan Nazarbayev] Dividing up the Armed Forces of the former Union could to lead to the emergence of disagreements among the republics.

[Leonid Kravchuk] The creation of a single armed forces when there are 11 powers in the Commonwealth is the end of everything in the world. Army institutions should be located on the spot and be subordinated to their own president.

Kravchuk Arrives; Comments

LD1402093692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0905 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By unidentified BELTA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, 14 Feb [ITAR-TASS]—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has arrived in the Belarussian capital to take part in the meeting of the heads of state of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] which opens today. The participants in the meeting will consider a package of documents concerning cooperation among the Commonwealth member countries, principally in the military field.

Answering a question from a BELTA-TASS correspondent at the airport, the president stated: "The option of maintaining unified CIS armed forces does not exist." He said: "You can only have unified armed forces in a unified state." He voiced concern that should unified armed forces be set up, it might present a threat to democracy.

Kravchuk reported that meetings with Boris Yeltsin are planned for 15 February, at which the economic aspects of bilateral relations will be discussed. He did not rule out the possibility that an agreement will be signed between the Russian Federation and the Ukraine to stabilize economic links in 1992.

As for the problem of the Black Sea Fleet, the Ukrainian leader thinks that it is hardly going to be settled in Minsk, although "an overall plan for settling the problem will be elaborated."

Kravchuk, Shushkevich Interviewed

LD1402104292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Belarussian Supreme Soviet Chairman S.S. Shushkevich by correspondent A. Gerasimov in Minsk; date not given—live or recorded; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Gerasimov] The third Minsk meeting of the heads of state of the Commonwealth is starting now in the capital of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. Judging by yesterday's statements by the leaders of these countries, the main subject of the talks will be military matters. In spite of the empty shelves in the shops of one-sixth of the planet, the subject of the division of the Soviet Army remains of paramount importance. It is true, specific opponents of this process are being named today.

[S.S. Shushkevich] There are old, dogmatic forces who are simply incapable of thinking in a new way. Unfortunately, in some areas they are not in a minority. They have preserved their positions. They do not accept the new approaches. In other words, new approaches have appeared with which the old traditional forces do not agree.

[Gerasimov] Do these forces have names?

[Shushkevich] Of course. The General Staff. (?I think) that's enough.

[Gerasimov] Clearly trying to express its loyalty to the authorities, the General Staff today organized a display of military equipment for the participants in the talks. Perhaps it was an emotional shock—to increase the constructive nature of the conference which is opening through a display of combat power.

[Kravchuk] Unified armed forces can only be in a unified state—that's logical. If the unified armed forces are in 12 states, then that's the end of democracy because the question will arise: The military will be above all states.

[Gerasimov] Will you be meeting with Yeltsin tomorrow?

[Kravchuk] Undoubtedly.

[Gerasimov] What questions will you be discussing?

[Kravchuk] Economic questions.

[Gerasimov] Will it be only a bilateral meeting, or will there be trilateral ones, too?

[Kravchuk] Bilateral.

[Gerasimov] With Belarus mediating?

[Kravchuk] Why?

[Gerasimov] Bilateral?

[Kravchuk] We, Belarus, that is an interstate question. If Belarus wants to meet with Yeltsin, then it can meet with him.

[Gerasimov] Are you hoping to come to any kind of agreement?

[Kravchuk] Economic agreement? Well, I think we are hoping to because you see, one should not be thinking like that, that if Russia will not give the Ukraine anything, then Russia will smother the Ukraine. Yes, it can smother it, but we will both perish, only Russia a day later. [Video shows correspondent outside building with crowds in background; interview with Shushkevich inside building; display of military hardware; and Kravchuk interviewed at foot of aircraft steps.]

Kravchuk Chairing First Session

LD1402113292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1030 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Report by Minsk correspondent Vera Shchelkunova]

[Excerpts] I would like to discuss the Community heads of state conference that is taking place behind closed doors in Minsk right now. It is not yet known what exactly is being discussed or whether the working group's proposed agenda has been adopted. [passage omitted]

It is known only that Leonid Kravchuk is chairing the first session, as Yeltsin proposed. Considering that the Ukraine's president flew into Minsk and told journalists this morning that unified armed forces mean the end of democracy and that the prepared military documents elaborate on the unified armed forces concept, one can assume that the discussion at the council of heads of state is not very smooth, to put it mildly.

The news conference scheduled for 1330 already has been postponed to 1500 [1300 GMT], but most likely it will take place much later today, if at all. [passage omitted]

Transitional Unified Command Discussed

LD1402125392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1230 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By unidentified BELTA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, 14 Feb (BELTA-TASS)—At a session of the Commonwealth heads of state being held in Minsk, eight countries—except for the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova—commenced work today on an agreement on a unified command for the armed forces for a two-year transitional period.

They set up a working group to elaborate the document. It is possible that the document will be signed by this evening, journalists were told by Stanislav Ogurtsov, Belarussian Foreign Ministry press service spokesman.

Expectations 'Cannot Be Considered Optimistic'

PM1302180192 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 2

[Interview with Colonel of Justice M. Matakin, chief of the CIS, Commonwealth of Independent States, Armed Forces Juridical Service, by A. Orlov under the rubric: "The CIS and Defense"; place and date of interview not given: "Army Without Regulations"]

[Text] Expectations for the next in the series of Minsk meetings cannot be considered optimistic. It is possible to assume the following based on the dominant trends in the Commonwealth which is "flying apart": This meeting's result will be a new stage in its breakup. It looks like the whole question will only concern what route the further division of the former Union Armed Forces will take.

However, even today not everything is lost. This idea came up more than once during a conversation with one of those people who carefully prepared the meeting of the heads of government, Colonel of Justice M. Matakin, chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces Juridical Service.

[Orlov] Mikhayl Grigoryevich, the package of draft agreements for scrutiny in Minsk is attracting general attention today. How would you assess these documents?

[Matakin] Today you have to admit that the Army and Navy have landed up outside the law, so to speak. They are continuing to exist according to USSR normative acts, when the majority of the CIS's states do not recognize them. Five agreements have already been signed on questions of defense—in Alma-Ata, Minsk, and Moscow, but they cover only a small part of the legal area on whose basis defense was built.

When we devised the package of new agreements, we proceeded on the premise that the previous body of laws is subject to review. To radical review. This is the reality of the situation. However, it is not right to destroy it without creating a corresponding replacement.

Therefore, we have worked intensively in recent weeks. Drafts for 12 agreements have been prepared. It is proposed that the heads of state sign a series of documents as a matter of the first importance which would confirm the following: Until new decisions within the framework of the CIS are adopted, the Armed Forces' organization and activities are regulated both by agreements between the Commonwealth states and acts of the former USSR, if these do not contradict the aforementioned agreements.

[Orlov] Our newspaper has already made an overall report on precisely which drafts are being put forward for discussion. But it is even difficult to say which of them are of the first order...

[Matakin] I think that those which concern people's destinies are of the first order. For example, I have before me the draft agreement on social and legal guarantees for servicemen, individuals discharged from military service, and their families. These categories of citizen, in whatever CIS state they live, should have retained those rights, concessions, and privileges granted to them which are still guaranteed by USSR acts. The Commonwealth states should pledge to guarantee the full range of their political, social and economic, and personal rights.

And the following are questions of no less importance to the organization of military life. Now the troops and naval forces have been left without regulations—either old or new ones. How can they go on? And which regulations will be in effect in which republics? Who will confirm them? A proposal is being submitted for the heads of state to grant this right to the commander in chief of the Armed Forces.

There is also an objective necessity to guarantee at the level of the states' rights a uniform procedure for conscription, manpower acquisition, and conducting military service.

[Orlov] These are so far, I think, completely soluble issues. It is no doubt more complex when it comes to the question of powers, that is of the limits of sovereignties.

[Matakin] Indeed, delimiting the powers of the Commonwealth's highest bodies in the area of defense is a delicate matter. A particular feature is that previously questions of defense were regulated only at the Union level—by laws and resolutions which the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted, decrees of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and later of the USSR president as well, and government decisions. Incidentally, there are today more than 1,500 such laws which we consider for the moment to be in effect. But now it is the independent states' parliaments and other empowered bodies which

are adopting normative acts. Nevertheless, many questions require joint resolution within the CIS's framework. It is envisaged that the most important questions of principle concerning military policy, military organizational development, and collective defense will be entrusted to the Council of Heads of State; the Council of the Heads of Government, whose purpose is to coordinate the Commonwealth states' economic activities, has in our opinion the right to work up programs for the development of arms and military hardware, as well as plans for mobilization and the national economy. The procedure for implementing research and development and material and technical provision is its prerogative. It is envisaged that a Council of Defense Ministers will be formed.

As far as the powers of the CIS Armed Forces High Command are concerned,it should guarantee the sure and undisturbed running of the Armed Forces, their normal functioning, and high combat readiness.

[Orlov] But in the republics at the moment they are developing their own legislation processes to create a system of national military legislation. What is to be done here?

[Matakin] There is only one thing which seems to be constructive. To cooperate with republic power structures with the purpose of working out common approaches and principles in military organizational development. At the same time it is necessary to bear in mind that it will hardly be possible to achieve this without mutual understanding between the sovereign states' parliamentarians. Therefore it would be expedient to form an interparliamentary body for questions of collective defense within the Commonwealth's coordinating institutions. It is possible to reach an agreement at the level of deputies on adopting legislative decisions in questions of the Commonwealth's defense.

[Orlov] Is it not evident that the discussion in Minsk of the status of the strategic forces and common-user forces will not be simple?

[Matakin] Yes, the agreement on strategic forces signed in Minsk 30 December 1991 gives a wide interpretation of the concept of strategic forces. Today the Ukraine, Belarus, and several other states do not accept the High Command's approach to interpreting the relevant article. There also is not a single opinion about the composition and statute [statut as published] of the common-user forces. Therefore, there is work ahead to coordinate lists of large strategic formations, combined units, and units making up the strategic forces and common-user forces—but this is a matter for the specialists.

[Orlov] But are you sure that all these problems will be resolved jointly?

[Matakin] Am I sure? It would be too much to say that. There is some hope. Of common sense, which if betrayed today means that we are stepping into an abyss.

Transit Procedure Differences 'Not Insuperable'

MK1102102192 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 2

[Report by Vladimir Strakhov: "Ukrainian Barrier"]

[Text] At the meeting of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] heads of government an agreement was signed on transit procedures. It makes provision for the unimpeded passage of freight across Commonwealth territory. KURANTY's correspondent asked Ye. Gaydar, vice president of the Russian Government, to explain how this agreement will be put into effect considering that the Ukraine, which has very important ports and railroad junctions on its territory, has not signed it.

"We expect the Ukraine nonetheless to subscribe to it," Ye. Gaydar replied. "A Ukrainian delegation did attend the meeting of CIS heads of government and it will, I hope, brief its government on the accords reached here. Then we will see what Kiev's reaction is. I think that the Ukrainian leadership is as interested as the other republics in this proposal. What is more, the adopted document makes provision for a series of problems that do not have a direct bearing on Ukraine but that are extremely important for, say, the republics of Central Asia and Russia. These being the transit of Turkmen gas and oil across the CIS countries' territory, freight transportation across Kazakhstan, and so on. Although the Ukraine's position is undoubtedly important, it it not the sum of all the problems here. I do not consider the disagreements with the Ukraine insuperable."

Single Statistics Committee Agreed Upon 6 Feb

OW1302231392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Pavel Guzvin, head of the State Statistics Committee of the Russian Federation, told journalists in Moscow on Thursday [13 February] that 9 of the 11 Commonwealth member states, represented by heads of the republican statistical agencies, signed in Minsk on February 6 an agreement to have a single statistics committee within the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. Mikhail Korolev, who used to lead the USSR Statistics Committee in the 1980s, was elected chairman of the new structure.

Citing preliminary data on Russia's socioeconomic performance in January 1992, Guzvin said that retail prices had gone up 350% on the average against December, with food prices rising fourfold, the prices of industrial goods by 150%, and of services by 130%. Trade turnover totaled 74.2 bn.[billion] rbl [rubles] in January, which made up 62% of last December's figure.

Industrial production decline continued in January and made up 15%; the extraction of oil reduced by 14%, and

of coal by 6%. In ferrous metallurgy and agricultural engineering production decline exceeded 20%, Guzvin said.

Economist Appointed Chairman

LD1402103792 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow February 13— Mikhail Korolev has been appointed chairman of the Unified Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Statistics Committee, Chairman of the Russian State Statistics Committee Pavel Guzhvin informed on Thursday [13 February]. In accordance with the decisions of the CIS founders, the State Statistics Committee of the USSR was abolished and is replaced by a new body which will coordinate activities of the statistical services of the CIS.

A meeting of heads of statistical services of the CIS (except the Ukraine and Azerbaijan) was held in Minsk on 5-6 February, as a result of which an accord was reached to form an appropriate unified service under a council of heads of statistics departments of independent states.

Mikhail Korolev has a doctor's degree in economics. He headed the Central Statistics Board, and later the State Statistics Committee of the USSR from December 1985 to July 1989.

Failure To Fund Defense Sports Deplored

PM1202142592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel O. Glazkov, senior officer of a General Staff Directorate: "We May Not Even Be Able To Harvest the Grain"]

[Text] If the need to maintain the Armed Forces is confirmed at the upcoming meeting of Commonwealth heads of state in Minsk, then the need to continue training specialists for them also has to be recognized. The delay in making a decision on the Defense Technical Sports Society (OSTO) could affect the level of combat training of forces this very summer. Because of the lack of people capable of handling equipment, the Army will not even be able to provide traditional assistance in the harvest. And that will be because appropriations for OSTO organizations, which used to be financed out of the Union budget, are being consistently cut. The student intake is down as a result, and teachers are leaving to take up other work.

Truck driver is a national economic profession. The draftee who has acquired it effectively hones during active military service the knowledge and skills he has mastered in OSTO, which will come in useful in the national economy once he has been discharged. In view of this, I consider it advisable to finance the training of specialists in OSTO training organizations and vocational and technical schools in all specialties enabling them to drive transport facilities, with the money coming from independent states' budgets.

All these and other questions can be resolved only by concluding an interstate agreement on them, with the subsequent adoption of corresponding laws by the sovereign states' governments.

Military

Officers' Assemblies Coordinating Council Formed

LD1302053592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2045 GMT 12 Feb 92

["CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Coordinating Council of Officer Assemblies Formed"; from the "Military News" section]

[Text] Moscow—In his February 11 order Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander-in-chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, endorsed the provisional regulation on the Coordinating Council of Officer Assemblies.

The regulation stipulates that management bodies and commanders at all levels should provide the necessary information and effective assistance to the council and its members within their competence. The order emphasized that dismissal of coordinating council members from the Army shall be made only on personal permission of the CIS Armed Forces commander-in-chief.

Ukraine's Black Sea Fleet Ambitions Explored

PM1202154792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Feb 92 First Edition p 7

[Article by Vladimir Sheleketov: "It Is Winter Now in Sevastopol"; from "Scene of Events" rubric]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] It is winter now in Sevastopol.

Two sieges of the city are known to history. The English and the French stormed it in the 1853-1856 Crimean War, and the fascists in the Great Patriotic War. The third siege is happening right now. The city of Russian glory is being besieged by journalists.

Sixty-five large surface ships, six missile cruisers, nine destroyers, 47 frigates, two helicopter-carrying cruisers, 125 missile and antisubmarine ships, 28 submarines... In all, 287 vessels, plus 150 aircraft—that is the inventory of the Black Sea Fleet, which is being claimed by the Ukraine in the person of L. Kravchuk, the "evil genius" of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. Russia does not want to agree to this. It cannot. The city and the Fleet find themselves in a state of breakup. [passage omitted]

Yes, a political decision on the Black Sea Fleet will, evidently, be adopted 14 February. The only question is: with or without taking account of the wishes of the seamen?

Of course, there is no single opinion on this subject, and indeed, there probably could not be. Some are fervent adherents of the "Ukrainianization of the Fleet." Others are for both the city and the Fleet remaining a part of Russia.

Maybe there is no longer a USSR, and the jargon terms "Soviet people" and "socialist Fatherland" are receding into oblivion. But can the disappearance of a state be used to free you from an oath of allegiance once it has been given? Kiev is playing on this too by confronting seamen with the issue. Either pledge allegiance to the Ukrainian people—or, to be more exact, to the place where you happen to serve—and then you will have an apartment and a raise. Otherwise—good-bye, you are free as the wind, that is, you are "freed" from house and home.

"I do not understand why I have to give yet another oath of allegiance," Captain Second Rank I. Klepanchuk says in dismay. "I pledged allegiance to my homeland, my people. Both remain, even with the breakup of the Union. My father is a native of Western Ukraine, my mother is from Tambov Oblast, and my brother serves in Poti—that is in Georgia. So what am I to do? What oath should I take, and to whom? Many of our officers are in this uncertain position right now. Would it not have been better for the politicians to have agreed everything from the outset? To have worked out a military doctrine, set a period of transition, and to have devised laws for this period. At the moment only pressure is being used."

Only shortsighted people could talk of a future conflict-free world. The explosion of nationalism is redrawing borders and serving as a basis for the conflagration of civil wars. The economy is collapsing, as is the power structure; even something which could not collapse without outside help or of its own accord—the Army. And all this is favorable to national ambitions. Although it is already clear to everyone today: The Ukraine could not support on its own the armada which the Black Sea Fleet became in Soviet times. All the same the Ukraine is insisting on having its own way. Economic sanctions and a news blockade are being introduced; from the beginning of February the Black Sea Fleet Special Department and Prosecutor's Office are being transferred to Ukrainian jurisdiction. Finally, even Black Sea Fleet Commander I. Kasatanov is becoming persona non grata. What next?

In a missile patrol boats brigade we were introduced to Lieutenant Captain B. Samoray. Our conversation lasted a long time, and went far beyond the bounds of one topic. I deliberately did not stop him and did not channel the conversation in the required direction. Because a man was talking who is clearly not indifferent to the fate of the Fleet, or to everything which is happening to us at the present time.

"I came to serve in one navy. Now they want to make it into something else. I am for the Navy's remaining unified. I am sure that in the final analysis history, and good sense, will prevail, and it will remain in its former guise."

"Today it is possible to look at the West—people say, how are things done there? OK, let us look too. The United States is composed of 51 [as published] states, each of which has its own laws and its own procedures. But there is a common backbone—the constitution, and there are unified Armed Forces. So the question arises, why should we smash something which already exists?

"The Americans send sizable forces to defend a few people. Today we have an entire Fleet and we are afraid to stand up for our rights. Because we have no rights. Only obligations, which we are fulfilling now of our own free wills, out of pure enthusiasm and altruism. I am ready at 30 minute's notice to go to sea and perform an assignment. And afterward, I won't be asking whether I'll be given money for this, or whether I'll have any butter for my supper. At times you get this feeling... Well, how much longer can you take being pushed around?!" [passage omitted]

In one corner of Nakhimov Square, not far from Grafskiy Harbor, stands a small rostrum. The local Hyde Park. Almost every weekend rallies are held here. Yes, the military sailors are not alone. The peoples of the Republic of Crimea are also concerned over the fate of Sevastopol, and the fate of the Black Sea Fleet. Exactly one year ago, on 20 January 1991, in an all-Crimea referendum 98.3 percent of the people of Sevastopol voted for the status of Sevastopol—the main base of the Black Sea Fleet and a city of Union-republic jurisdiction. By republic, Russia was meant. And no one then supposed that the timing mechanism of a mine laid almost 40 years ago by N. Khrushchev would soon begin to tick. With the disintegration of the Union, Russian Sevastopol became Ukrainian. But where does that leave memories which stubbornly recall that Admirals Lazarev, Nakhimov, Kornilov, and Istomin, who found their last refuge here, gained victory under the St. Andrew's flag, and not under the yellow and blue flag? And how can we forget the words of Archbishop Innokentiy, spoken at the laying of the foundation stones of Vladimir Cathedral, while the enemy fleet already stood on the outer roadstead:

"Who is not aware that one of our enemies' most heartfelt desires now is to wrest this country from Russia in whatever way it takes? And at this very time, as if in reply to their mad audacity, we are laying here the foundations of a temple named for Saint Vladimir. Here is the font of our baptism; here is the beginning of our holy story and popular traditions. To cede this country after all this to anyone whatsoever would mean for all

Russia to reject the font of its baptism, to betray the memory of Saint Vladimir. Is this possible?"

Is it?

Black Sea Fleet Resumes Duty in Mediterranean

LD1202205992 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Mikhayl Stetsyuk]

[Text] Sevastopol February 12 (TASS)—Rumours that ships of the Black Sea Fleet are being called off duty in the Mediterranean Sea have not been confirmed. After a respite, the Fleet's Mediterranean flotilla has resumed combat duty in the region.

"The presence of our Navy in the region is a guarantee of peace and stability," Commander Vice-Admiral Petr Svyatashov told reporters.

Varyag Cruiser Still Subject of Controversy

PM1202141592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 1

[TASS report under the general heading "Last Parade Not Happened Yet"]

[Text] The PRESS TRUST OF INDIA new agency has reported, citing JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, that India and China are interested in acquiring the heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser Varyag from the Ukraine. The 67,500-tonne vessel is currently under construction at a yard in Nikolayev.

Incidentally, the editorial office has learned from Vice Admiral V. Lyashenko, first deputy chief of the Navy Main Staff, that the "question of the possible sale of the Varyag is not and has not been under consideration at the Navy Main Staff."

Transcaucasus MD Official Grants Interview

PM1302155792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Feb 92 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General S. Beppayev, deputy commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, by Major K. Litvinov and Captain V. Sadovskiy; place and date not given: "Karabakh Conflict; Transcaucasus Military District Troops Preserving Neutrality"]

[Text] The Transcaucasus Military District troops are preserving their neutrality, but it is not easy. Lt. Gen. S. Beppayev, deputy commander of the district, now talks about this.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Sufiyak Uzeyrovich, after the Azerbaijan leadership's statement on its intention to create a national army, which was to be expected, specific, even violent, actions have been taken to nationalize subunits and units of the Transcaucasus Military District on the republic's territory. What is the current situation in Azerbaijan?

[Beppayev] Unfortunately, ever since the appearance of the Azerbaijan president's decree on the nationalization of the property and armaments of the district's units stationed in the republic, the atmosphere in the republic as a whole has worsened. Numerous attacks on military units aimed at seizing equipment and weapons have been recorded. It has reached the point where people put on general's uniform to get through checkpoints. This happened in Agdam, for example. Generals are let through checkpoints, of course. Then they are followed by thugs who seize military property. Sometimes the stolen equipment and weapons are recovered but sometimes, unfortunately, they are not. Appeals to the republic's leadership have no result. I must say that relations between the military and the authorities in Azerbaijan are very complex. Do you recall that in November last year a helicopter was shot down in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast with Azerbaijani parliamentarians on board? Well, on the day they were buried in Baku literally 300 meters from the funeral procession there was an attack on the guard. The chief of the guard was knocked to the ground and insulted. The guard was disarmed. The weapons have still not been recovered. The aim of the provocation was obvious: The people are in such grief, they say, yet at this time the Army goes on the offensive.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] So is this the deliberate policy of the authorities? Or nationalist groupings taking advantage of the opportunity to arm themselves?

[Beppayev] There is no clear cut answer to that question. It is state policy, because there are presidential decrees on this. These are also actions of hooligan elements who are exploiting the opportunity for their own ends. Of course, all questions must be resolved in a civilized way. But how? The state is in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. On 14 February it will adopt a political decision on the military question together with the other members of the Commonwealth.

Who stands to gain from this? Shadowy operators, the opposition, the authorities? It is a dangerous situation. The republic's leadership must draw definite conclusions. Since the sides are arming themselves it means that eventually this will lead to bloodshed. The "privatized" weapons will be used one day. Against whom? The Azerbaijani leadership should have considered that, clearly, together with the district command. And adopt every measure against the theft of weapons and equipment.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Some of the mass media, not only ours, are suggesting that in certain circumstances the district's troops could take part in an Azerbaijan-Armenian conflict.

[Beppayev] There is an order from the district's command forbidding the Army's intervention in the conflict. Our troops, as you know, are standing on the border between the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides. Our task is to prevent all armed formations crossing from one republic to the other.

We are fulfilling that order and the Transcaucasian Military District's troops will not otherwise be used without a decision of the CIS Council of Heads of State. That is the first point. The second is that we acknowledge that the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast belongs to Azerbaijan even though the population there is predominantly Armenian. Nevertheless, disputes must be resolved not by military but political means.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What can you tell us about the motorized rifle regiment stationed in Stepanakert? It is at the center of attention of many of the mass media and recently Central Television reported that the warring sides are using weapons captured from that regiment...

[Beppayev] Yes, the regiment is in a pretty difficult position. The Azerbaijani side is demanding its withdrawal, the Armenian side is asking for it to stay. As you will understand, by its very presence the regiment stabilizes the situation in the region. It is difficult even to imagine what would happen there if the regiment were withdrawn. But even if the question of its withdrawal arises it is still necessary to think how to provide housing for the families of officers and NCO's. Redeployment in such conditions is not easy. The redeployment decision, if it is made by the Transcaucasus Military District command, must be sanctioned by the CIS Armed Forces Commander in Chief and the General Staff. No such decision has been made yet and the regiment remains in place with shells, unfortunately, landing on its territory.

I would like to stress: no one's patience is infinite. When innocent Russian boys are in their barracks coming under attack from all sorts of modern weapons the district command, naturally, will not keep the regiment there, saying to them: die, lads, or find your own way out. There will be a retaliatory strike. As for mass media reports that the warring sides are using the regiment's arms and equipment... These reports do not correspond to the facts. The Azerbaijani side in general has no access to the regiment and the Armenian side is making no attempts to capture arms and equipment.

Goals of New Commercial Structure Defined

LD1402083792 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Danilin]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—The prime goal of the established military commercial structure is to find additional sources to finance socio-economic programmes, first and foremost the housing programme, in the interests of servicemen and their family members, Colonel General Vladislav Litvinov who heads the Commercial Centre of the Commonwealth Armed Forces told ITAR-TASS.

The Commercial Centre has already gained the legal status and launched its activity.

To implement these goals, the centre, as a body managing commercial processes occurring in the Army and the Navy, organises and coordinates work to sell and use (lease and invest in joint-stock companies' funds) the military property, which is being released, on the domestic and foreign markets.

An important task is to organise and coordinate work to upgrade technologies for the industrial utilisation of military-technical means such as ammunition, missiles and tanks. The right to possess, use and be in command of military property belongs to the arms and services of the Armed Forces, the main and central departments, military districts, fleets, armies and units.

Litvinov emphasised all this work is carried out without damage to the maintenance of the combat readiness of troops and the Navy, and helps the Armed Forces enter the market.

Kobets Interviewed on Division of Armed Forces

PM1302122192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

[Interview with Army General Konstantin Kobets, Russia's state counselor for defense, by military correspondent Nikolay Burbyga; place and date not given: "Generals Seek Ways To Divide Up Armed Might of Former Union. Opinion of Army General Konstantin Kobets"]

[Text] Among the many questions to be examined during their next meeting in Minsk on 14 February the heads of the independent states will also examine this one: the fulfillment by the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, which was signed by 22 states in Paris on 19 November 1990. Under this treaty the conventional arms of the states that belong to NATO and the former Warsaw Pact are to be reduced significantly.

Each side's combat pool cannot exceed 20,000 combat tanks, 30,000 armored combat vehicles, 20,000 artillery systems, 6,800 combat aircraft, and 2,000 combat helicopters. Provision is also made for restrictive geographic regularization. Four adjacent areas have been defined within the whole area of the treaty's application from the Atlantic to the Urals, and within each area there are regional sublevels for three categories of arms—tanks, armored combat vehicles, and artillery. A maximum level of armament was also defined which no participant state has the right to exceed 40 months after the treaty comes into force. This level stands at 13,300 tanks, 20,000 armored vehicles, 13,700 artillery units, 5,150 combat aircraft, and 1,500 assault helicopters. However, all states cannot have the indicated level at once: The

imposed restrictions would be exceeded. In this connection the question arises: "How are we to determine the maximum combat hardware for each state and not violate both the overall levels and the regional sublevels that were set beforehand, and also how is it planned to distribute combat hardware and arms among the CIS countries?"

Our military correspondent Nikolay Burbyga put these questions to Army General Konstantin Kobets, Russian Federation state counselor for defense:

In my view, it is only possible to comply with the terms of the Paris Treaty with the mutual agreement of all the CIS states whose territory falls within the Treaty's area of application: Russia (the European part), the Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Kazakhstan (the territory of Uralsk and Guryev Oblasts west of the Ural River).

If there were a political decision to create unified CIS Armed Forces with a unified operational-strategic structure and echelonment of troops for the purpose of ensuring the collective security of the countries of the whole Commonwealth, the accords reached earlier on implementing the Paris treaty would be well founded. Since this is not the case, and the Ukraine and Belarus, for example, are creating their own armed forces, and other republics of the former USSR also have intentions in this regard, a number of serious problems arise: The consultative meetings of representatives of the Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia which were held on disarmament questions in January of this year revealed the sides' disagreement over individual aspects of the subject of the talks. In particular, with regard to the armament and hardware subject to limitation under the treaty, the Ukraine and Belarus proceed from the principle of "privatizing" armament according to territorial ownership. One wonders how the "military share" of each CIS member is to be determined, taking into account the breakup of the unified military-strategic structure of the troops and the creation of each individual state's own military-strategic structure in the very near future.

If we proceed from the actual state of affairs, the Ukraine, Belarus, and the Transcaucasian republics end up in a more advantageous position than the other Commonwealth states.

Thus, the Ukraine now has 30 percent of the tanks, Belarus has 18 percent, and Russia has 28 percent of them, including those in the European part of the former USSR and also in the Western and Northern Groups of Forces. We will select the levels (for tanks, for example, from the level of 13,150 for the USSR) in proportion to the percentages.

Given that proportional approach, the Ukraine could claim 4,000 tanks, Belarus 2,400, and Russia, taking into account the withdrawal of forces from the Western Group of Forces, Northern Group of Forces, and Northwestern Group of Forces, 6,000 tanks, that is, a proportion that is less than one half of the level established for the former USSR. There would be a similar correlation for armored fighting vehicles, artillery, combat aircraft, and assault bridge launchers. Therefore, Russia favors constructive talks on shared participation, not confrontation on the basis of the "privatization" of the former USSR Armed Forces.

I am convinced that the threat of the outbreak of nuclear or conventional wars or large scale military conflicts has now been reduced to a minimum. But I would not claim that the war danger has gone altogether. The reason for that is that the threat of local conflicts motivated by territorial, interethnic, ethnic, religious, or other contradictions has increased of late. I do not want to be pessimistic, but who could have predicted the explosive confrontration between Azerbaijan and Armenia, or that the Serbs and Croats would be fighting one another. Indeed, modern means of armed struggle are being used by both sides.

In this connection it is advisable, when distributing armaments and determining the limits for each independent state, above all to assume that none of the states is a threat to the others. It would be correct to distribute the armaments among the participating states in such a way that regional balances are not upset. Such an approach would lead to the creation of a correlation of forces between them that would provide a sound basis for security in that part of the continent.

Obviously it is advisable to use the approach already approved in the countries of the former Warsaw Pact when determining levels of sufficiency in respect of other states of the former Soviet Union. Use should be made of the work that has been done by the center for ensuring the implementation of arms reduction treaties, which is currently functioning in the Ground Forces. On the basis of this military scientific institution I believe it would be appropriate to set up a similar Russian center.

I believe that a "generalized indicator" of the area of the territory should be taken as one of the principal criteria for determining these arms levels, with size of population and length of borders also being taken into account. In the group of Warsaw Pact states the "generalized indicator" for the USSR for tanks, for example, was of the order of 66 percent, which is 13,150 units allocated to the USSR out of an overall maximum level of 2,000 [as published] units for the groups of participating states. It was on the basis of this principle that, for example, tank levels were agreed at 835 units for Hungary, 1,730 units for Poland, 1,435 units for Czechoslovakia, 1,475 units for Bulgaria, and 1,375 units for Romania.

Given the aforementioned approach, it is possible to calculate the "generalized indicators" for each CIS member.

They would be 54.1 percent for Russia, 21.8 percent for the Ukraine, 6.6 percent for Belarus, and so on. Given that approach, the "shares" of the USSR maximum level

in the case of tanks, for example, would work out as follows: Russia—7,114 units; the Ukraine—2,867 units; Belarus—868 units, etc.

With arms and equipment being distributed in accordance with the aforementioned approach, our former Warsaw Pact allies and, indeed, the NATO countries cannot have any complaints, in my view. The collective defense of the CIS countries, the sovereignty of the states, and the implementation of international treaties are being insured. Mutual trust among the Commonwealth states and a unified approach to the solution of this painful problem for the independent states are preserved.

Otherwise, having assessed the military political situation, the countries of the former Warsaw Pact might demand a review of the established levels in view of the formation of new independent states, and this does not rule out confrontation, further coordination, and tedious negotiating processes. In this situation Russia favors preserving stability in Europe, confirms its responsibility for the treaty signed by the USSR in Paris, and will make a vigorous effort to ensure reliable arms control and react accordingly to the creation of armies within the CIS.

Economic

Foreign Banks Experiencing Liquidity 'Crisis'

PM1202111592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Report carried as part of "IZVESTIYA-INTERFAX Commercial Review": "Crisis of Soviet Foreign Banks"]

[Text] As already reported, Ukrainian Premier Vitold Fokin has expressed "concern" at the actions of republics belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], particularly Russia, concerning the management and servicing of the USSR's foreign debt.

In this regard he proposed as a temporary measure that Russia's right to USSR property abroad, particularly banks, be stopped until the actual division of property among the states which are legal successors to the former Union.

What are these banks now?

Soviet foreign banks are those banks abroad in which the controlling block of shares belongs to the USSR State Bank, the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity [Vneshekonombank], and a number of foreign trade associations of the former USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

The largest banks now are the Eurobank (Paris), the Moscow Narodny Bank (London), the Ost-West Handelsbank AG (Frankfurt am Main), the East-West United Bank (Luxembourg), and the Donau Bank AG (Vienna).

The basic transactions of Soviet foreign banks have been geared toward borrowers on the territory of the CIS and former socialist countries, which are now experiencing an economic crisis.

As USSR Vneshekonombank specialists state, these banks are now going through a liquidity crisis, since they are not receiving money under contracts concluded with the enterprises of CIS countries and former socialist countries. Roughly 25 percent of the assets of Soviet foreign banks are made up of virtualy nonliquid state bonds connected with the financing of long term projects.

In the opinion of Russian Central Bank experts, the declaration of a moratorium on USSR debts has caused additional damage to Soviet foreign banks.

It cannot be ruled out that the share capital of Soviet foreign banks will be increased by a partial infusion of currency resources from commercial banks of Russia and other republics of the former USSR. However, these sums will not be enough to keep the Soviet foreign banks afloat.

The main burden of support for the Soviet foreign banks will be borne by the Russian Central Bank and the Foreign Trade Bank [Vneshtorgbank], which could receive proportions of the Soviet foreign banks' share capital belonging to the USSR State Bank and the Vneshekonombank. Meanwhile a number of republics, particularly the Ukraine, will most likely claim their own portion of the share capital of the foreign banks.

Russia has an interest in maintaining the Soviet foreign banks. If they go bankrupt, the Russian Federation will be deprived of not just capital, real estate, and skilled cadres, but also the opportunity to directly finance its own export and import transactions.

Social & Political

Republics' Air Traffic Controllers To Strike

LD1302224292 Moscow Teleradiokomapniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2038 GMT 13 GMT 13 Feb 91

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Ukrainian Air Traffic Controllers Union has called a strike for 14 February. The Federation of Belarussian Air Traffic Controllers Trade Unions have called a strike for 21 February.

The reason for the strikes is that the air traffic controllers resent the fact that flight control services are mainly financed by passengers, but more than 70 percent of those who fly do so for free.

Soviet People's Deputies Congress Organized

LD1402113992 Moscow TASS in English 1944 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—The Soviet Union no longer exists for those who do not want it to exist but most people want to live in the Soviet Union and voted so in the last year's referendum, General Albert Makashov said on Thursday [13 February].

He spoke at a news conference held by the organising committee of the sixth emergency congress of Soviet people's deputies to open in Moscow on March 17, a year after the referendum.

The organising committee, which includes Yuriy Golik, Albert Makashov, Vadim Nosov and other former Soviet people's deputies, was set up in response to demands made by the rally "Working Moscow" on February 9.

"The Soviet Union, which had the final say on all major international issues, is turning into a bunch of principalities which are ready to sell their natural resources, territory and specialists for nothing" Sazhi Umalatova said.

She warned that attempts to divide the Armed Forces and weapons may provoke inter-ethnic conflicts and large-scale armed clashes which could result in the death of millions of people.

Umalatova said the congress is the only way to prevent the massacre and turn society from confrontation to national reconciliation.

The committee members believe the congress could elect a new parliament and government, accept former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation, adopt a law on the referendum of March 17, 1991, build a unified armed force and map out measures to rescue the country from the current crisis.

The committee also urged the parliaments of sovereign states to cancel their laws contradicting the Soviet law on the status of people's deputies.

Intergovernmental Aviation Committee Formed

LD1402104492 Moscow TASS in English 2137 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Ryabov]

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—A new Civil Aviation Executive Committee uniting 12 states, former republics of the erstwhile Soviet Union, under the name of Intergovernmental Aviation Committee (IAC) has started functioning. At the presentation ceremony of the Committee held on Thursday [13 February] it was stated that it will promote general coordinative work of the airlines of the Commonwealth of Independent States and foreign countries.

The IAC has become a legal successor to the Committee for Use of Air Space and Air Traffic Control and of a number of bodies of the former Union Ministry of Civil Aviation. The sphere of activities of the new Committee includes jointly working out and coordinating policy in the field of international and intergovernmental air communication, a common air tariff and dues policy. It will also frame intergovernmental laws and standards keeping in view the demands of the international civil aviation organization.

"Air routes of over 40 foreign airlines pass over the territory of the former Soviet Union. Our Committee will become their reliable conductor and coordinator", the chairperson of the Committee Tatyana Anodina told journalists.

German 'Rebirth Society' Evaluates Proposal

LD1402084292 Moscow TASS in English 1214 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—In the Vozrozhdeniye (Rebirth) Society they evaluate Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's proposal to invite Russian Germans to better lands in southern Ukraine as attractive. Representatives of this society say many of the Germans may find the proposal interesting because Russian President Boris Yeltsin's statements in Saratov left still fewer hopes for re-establishing the autonomous republic.

In an ITAR-TASS interview, Society members emphasised that their organisation intended to press ahead with plans to create German settlements which, in their view, can be formed not only in the Ukraine but also in Russia and other republics.

"We perceive with gratitude Kravchuk's proposal to invite Russian Germans to the Ukraine's southern areas and consider it alongside proposals from the Ulyanov region, St. Petersburg and Kyrgyzstan as readiness to do something to resolve the problems of our people," said Gugo Vormsbekher, deputy chairman of the USSR Germans' Union.

"Our goal is to preserve Russian Germans as a people. It is necessary that as many representatives of this nationality as possible be gathered in one place so that they could revive their cilture and traditions. If at point is only to invite the people as a labour force, this proposal is unacceptable as a solution to the nationality problem. If the idea is to set up a national area like it was in the Ukraine before the war, if Germans are settled together and have a national future, we are then prepared to accept this invitation," Vormsbekher stressed.

Media

Journalists Unions Plan 'No News Day' Protest

LD1302114892 Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Leaders of the Confederation of Journalists' Unions called on journalists of the former Soviet Union on Thursday [13 February] to stage a "no news day" protest, when none of the newspapers throughout the Commonwealth would publish any reports on the activities of governments, parliaments and presidents. The letter to journalists was signed by Chairman of the Confederation Eduard Sagalayev, Chairman of the Committee for the Freedom of Press and for the Rights of Journalists Pavel Gutiontov, by the leader of Moscow journalists Pavel Gusev and others.

Most Russian publications are in a critical state. "In the Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan newspapers do not come out for weeks because of a drastic lack of paper", the appeal said.

The statements of the Russian Government that it would not "let the independent press die" remained on paper. "Not everything has been done to stop the dictate of monopolists who have nothing to do with the market reforms. They are constantly advancing ultimatums to newspapers without any preliminary consultations or talks", the letter said.

Editors-in-chief of major newspapers appealed to heads of state of the Commonwealth to help solve the problem, but to no avail. "The press is deliberately pushed towards a confrontation with the government", the letter pointed out.

The authors of the appeal suggest that "the frozen assets of the former Communist Party be used to help the press survive". The money could help keep fixed prices for paper at least in 1992, they believe.

The leaders of the confederation called on news agencies, TV and radio stations to solidarise with the appeal.

TASS Reviews TV, Radio News Programs

LD1302223292 Moscow TASS in English 2146 GMT 13 Feb 92

["Moscow TV Evening News Roundup"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 14 ITAR-TASS—Evening news of the Russian TV and Radio Broadcasting Company "Vesti" on Thursday [13 February] opened with a report on Boris Yeltsin's account to Russian parliament about his recent visits to Great Britain, United States, Canada and France. Yeltsin said that the government's course is to be adjusted, that additional measures for social protection of the people are needed and that the agrarian reform should be sped up.

A meeting of the Russian Government summed up the initial results of the economic reform that began in January. Deputy Premier Yegor Gaydar is optimistic about the developments. He said in an interview to Vesti that the position of the rouble strengthened considerably in the domestic market and that the rouble gradually becomes a means of regulating market relations.

He said the same in an interview for Novosti programme of the first channel of Moscow Television. His optimism was not shared by announcer Tatyana Komarova. She pointed out that Russia's trade turnover dropped by 63 per cent as compared with January of 1991, that prices went up 250 per cent since December and that industrial output dropped 15 per cent in January.

TV gives much attention to a summit of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] which opens in Minsk on February 14. Before flying from Moscow, Yeltsin told reporters that the quest for mutually acceptable decisions is not easy. At the same time he expressed the hope that the summit will be a success. The president said that defence ministers of the CIS countries had drafted documents on the Armed Forces of the former USSR.

Vesti described the CIS summit as being of vital importance for the reason that it would deal with military affairs. They should not be put off any longer, but it is apparent that they cannot be resolved to common satisfaction at present. There were negative assessments for prospects of the summit. It was said it can set the beginning to the disintegration of the CIS. As before, the main line of division is between the Ukraine and Russia, it was noted in Vesti programme.

Vesti transmitted a reportage from the port of Sevastopol. Its residents experience economic difficulties because of political games. They are offered food supplies and various social boons if they swear allegiance to the Ukraine. This, in turn, prompts protest rallies. True, the military stay away from rallies. They are serving on ships and wait for politicians to decide the destiny of the Black Sea Fleet.

In Novosti broadcast it was emphasised that nationalism poses a very serious problem in the former CIS, particularly in view of the fact that people are in possession of a huge number of arms. Thefts of arms continue. The last one took place in Karelia. After an anti-aircraft regiment was dissolved in Kem, it was established that ten Kalashnikov submachineguns, a large number of pistols and more than ten grenades with igniter sets disappeared from an arms depot.

TASS Carries Press Review for 14 Feb

LD1402054792 Moscow TASS in English 0524 GMT 14 Feb 92

["Russian Press Review"]

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—Commonwealth leaders will meet today in Minsk to discuss the future of the former Soviet Armed Forces, newspapers report today.

On the eve of the summit, military leaders agreed and initialed several documents, prepared by the Commonwealth Armed Forces High Command, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports, pointing out that it is now up to politicians to settle the differences between individual republics. Commonwealth heads of state favour creating republican defence structures and are unlikely to agree on unified military command structures in their present form, it says.

Meanwhile, 80 per cent of officers polled by the paper favour a single military doctrine for the Commonwealth of Independent States, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes.

Territorial issues will also be high on the summit's agenda, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA points out. The row between the Ukraine and Russia over the Crimea could prompt a "chain reaction of similar disputes" between other republics, it says.

Monetary issues will also feature prominently on the summit's agenda, according to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Because several republics plan to introduce their own currencies, the sides will have to discuss the future of the rouble.

Newspapers comment on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's speech in the parliament, in which he summed up the results of his foreign tours. Yeltsin's statement was optimistic and evoked similar sentiments among parliamentarians, who approved of his foreign policies, newspapers report.

Asked if the decision to appoint Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev as Russia's United Nations envoy, Yeltsin said "the minister has not been appointed anywhere", NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reports, adding, nevertheless, that sources in the Russian Government believe "the decision has been taken, but the time of the appointment has not been set".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA publishes the results of an opinion poll on the performance of the Russian Government. Every fifth respondent in major Russian cities is pessimistic about the economy, it says.

Newspapers carry detailed stories from the Winter Olympics, highlighting the success of the United Team of the Commonwealth of Independent States in several events.

International Affairs

Yeltsin on Overseas Impressions, Domestic Plans

924P0065A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Feb 92 p 1

[Report by Vitaliy Tretyakov: "'We Were Greeted Well and Given Money'"]

[Text] With these words Boris Yeltsin began his meeting yesterday with leaders of Russia's mass media, gently refuting in this way the banner headline of yesterday's issue of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

During this meeting, which lasted from 1000 to midday in the Great Kremlin Palace, the president of Russia was clearly in good form. e looked fine and demonstrated an excellent knowledge of disarmament problems (specialists might, perhaps, have been able to have taken issue in some respect with his explanations, which were wordy, but there were none among the chief editors).

Gently refuting the exegeses of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA concerning the results of his overseas trip, the president presented figures of unlocked and promised credit (these figures had already been quoted in the press, for that matter).

Boris Yeltsin said that he had no intention of soliciting anything from the West, but simply confronted it with the dilemma: If the economic reform in Russia fails, the world will have to pay tenfold for the resurrection of the totalitarian regime. In this connection the president, citing the Russian press, confirmed the "red and brown danger."

Touching on his negotiations in London and across the Atlantic, Yeltsin described in detail the impression made on him by his Western interlocutors. He highlighted particularly the specificity in the approach of Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney, who, according to the president, himself goes to the port almost every day to check on the shipment of grain to Russia. Each of Yeltsin's interlocutors, for that matter, received a flattering description from the mouth of the president. Although in conversation with Margaret Thatcher it was difficult for him to get a word in edgewise—so assertive was Mrs. Thatcher. However, he noted her advice that he be insistent, for there are food surpluses everywhere in the West.

Boris Yeltsin observed that, after Paris, he would end overseas trips for at least six months in order to deal in earnest with economic reform, devotion to which he confirmed and in whose success he believes. Thus his visits to India and Japan will take place no sooner than the fall, but the negotiations with India will be conducted in respect of supplies of spares for Soviet military equipment, but on mutually profitable terms, not as, according to Yeltsin, was done by the Union government. Discussion of the territorial dispute with Japan has meanwhile been postponed, but a peace treaty will be prepared on the Russian side. Concerning his sudden disappearance from Moscow and his refusal to meet with the Japanese foreign minister, Yeltsin said that he regretted this, but circumstances sometimes require the president's sudden and secret absences.

It is Yeltsin's impression that China is ready for a sharp rise in the level of its relations with Russia and agreement has been reached, meanwhile, to commence negotiations on a cutback in forces on the Russian-Chinese border.

Boris Yeltsin said that he actively supported the entry of the republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States into the United Nations and that problems could arise only with Azerbaijan. In this connection he outlined the situation in Azerbaijan, quoting dispatches of Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District.

Having described in detail the negotiations with George Bush, Boris Yeltsin observed that he had told the U.S. President plainly: The Union leadership deceived the Americans, particularly on the issue of chemical and bacteriological weapons and the alleged reduction of 700,000 men of the Soviet Armed Forces. Noting that he did not wish to have anything in common with such a policy, Yeltsin offered to really cut the strength of the Army by 700,000 men from the actual level, not the authorized manning level (there is a difference between them of half a million).

Concerning the press criticism of his proposals pertaining to the conversion of SDI into a joint system of global monitoring of the nuclear threat, Yeltsin pointed to the specific addresses of such a threat today (not the West) and observed that he was talking only about the joint tracking and warning of such a threat up to the moment the command is given, no more. According to the president of Russia, he managed to persuade the Americans to terminate the construction of the Ohio-class new nuclear submarines.

An air bridge to transport food from the United States will begin, the president maintained, as of 10 February, and similar bridges from Italy, Germany, and Japan will begin to operate as of roughly this same time.

Less clear and detailed, unfortunately, were the Russian president's words concerning the economic reform. He does not get his bearings here as well, by all accounts, as in foreign policy. Boris Yeltsin said, however, that it would evidently be necessary to take some nonmarket (in the classical sense) steps to slow down the price rises.

Yeltsin Visits France, UK, U.S., Canada

LD0902193192

[Editorial Report] Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian at 0800 GMT on 9 February carries the program "The World This Week: International Review"

presented by "observer" Andrey Ptashnikov, with correspondent Yevgeniy Osipovskiy and "my colleague" Igor Surguchev.

For the first 25 minutes of the program, Ptashnikov invites Osipovskiy to review the official results of Yeltsin's visit to France. Osipovskiy notes that the visit was an official state visit and had all the ceremonial necessities that such an event requires. He refers to it as a "sprint marathon" because the visit was short, and a great deal of ground was covered. The main result was the treaty between France and Russia, the first in 100 years. A number of other documents were also signed. Kozyrev and other Russian ministers held talks with their French opposite numbers.

Ptashnikov, who accompanied Yeltsin on his tour to Great Britain, the United States, and Canada, and Osipovskiy, who covered Yeltsin's visit to France, compare notes on the two trips from three angles—disarmament, economic aid, and the situation inside Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] as viewed by Yeltsin's hosts. They agree that Britain and France are not eager to match U.S. and Russian disarmament moves at this stage. France, in particular, believes that the former Soviet republics must reduce their nuclear arsenals to levels comparable to that of France before France can join the disarmament process. All Western countries, France included, believe that the situation within the CIS and Russia must settle down before a global defense system and collective security procedures in Europe can be put in place. France has its own distinctive ideas on collective security in Europe.

On the economic side, France has granted Russia a loan of 3 billion francs and unblocked other credit, although it has not gone as far as Germany, which is still the greatest source of aid to the former Soviet Union. Britain, the United States, and Canada have so far confined themselves to sending food, medicines, and other humanitarian aid. All these Western countries have their own economic problems, so their positions can be understood.

Osipovskiy then plays a short extract from a poor recording of an interview with Kozyrev during the visit to France. Both correspondents agree that Western countries are not eager to make large investments in Russia until they receive firm guarantees that these investments will be safe. French businessmen are being equally cautious, although a deal was struck with Elf-Aquitaine. It is up to us to guarantee these investments, Ptashnikov says. Until we do, we can not expect further major investment.

Ptashnikov says that the attitude in the United States toward the former USSR has changed since September of last year. It has become cooler and more indifferent during the last six months. Ordinary Americans can not see how the formation of the CIS has improved the situation. According to Osipovskiy, France has more sympathy for Russia and the other republics. Being Europeans, they understand the problems better and are more interested in them. They believe that Russia should eventually be integrated into the European market and the European Community.

Ptashnikov and Osipovskiy agree that, through these two trips, Yeltsin has made his mark on the world stage. His international prestige is increasing. Ptashnikov ends this part of the program by quoting Deutsche Welle and BBC comments on the visits.

In the remaining five minutes of the program, Ptashnikov asks Surguchev to explain how the collapse of the Israeli coalition government and the prospect of elections in June will affect the Near East peace process. Surguchev says it is obvious that preparations for elections in Israel will not encourage progress at the talks. The Israelis will not make any major decisions until the election is over. The next five months are more than likely to be unproductive, especially as some prominent personalities involved in the election campaign are even more right-wing than Shamir. Everybody knows that Likud is opposed to the land for peace formula. An independent Palestinian state is equally unacceptable to them. If Likud returns to power in June and does not change its policy substantially, the Near East talks will collapse. Ptashnikov points out that, unlike the government, a majority of Israelis support the idea of land for peace. Unfortunately, says Surguchev, the opposition is divided and Likud may return to power. If Ha'avoda, the former Labor Party, wins, the chances for progress in the Arab-Israeli talks will improve. Surguchev says Russia and the United States should put more pressure on Israel: "I feel that persuasion and exhortation are no longer good enough. It is time to use sanctions against Israel. The Israeli leaders must be told plainly that the world community will not allow them to block progress toward peace in the Near East without suffering the consequences. Russia, too, can and should play a part in this. The efforts to convene a Near East peace forum must not be allowed to go to rack and ruin."

Hungary's Antall Writes Yeltsin on Soldiers

LD1202184992 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Budapest February 12 ITAR-TASS—The Hungarian news agency MTI reported that Hungarian Prime-Minister Jozsef Antall and Russian President Boris Yeltsin exchanged letters about perpetuating the memory and the care for graves of Hungarian soldiers who died in Russia during the Second World War.

The Second World War was the greatest tragedy in contemporary Hungarian history, Antall writes in his letter to Yeltsin. The Hungarian people, just as other peoples in Europe and the world, underwent terrible suffering. Virtually every family in Hungary had been affected by the horrors of war. Due to democratic changes that have taken place in Hungary of late, the time has come "when the entire people can fulfill its moral duty and pay homage to the dead", the letter says.

The 50th anniversary of the tragedy of the Hungarian Army on the don is drawing nearer. "This reminds us of our duty to erect a monument outside the country to our compatriots buried in foreign land as tribute to the dead and as a sign of conciliation between adversaries", the letter says.

The MTI reports Yeltsin assured Antall that Russia has understanding and sympathy for the striving of the Hungarian people to pay tribute to the memory of compatriots.

Churkin Comments on Baker Visit to Moscow

LD1302191092 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Alexei Luzin and Sergei Staroselsky]

[Text] The deepening of the disarmament process will be one of the main subjects of discussion at the forthcoming talks between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and the Russian leadership, Vitaliy Churkin, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's information directorate, told a briefing here today. He said Mr. Baker would stay in Moscow on a working visit on February 17 and 18.

The ministry spokesman described the present-day relations between Russia and the United States as those of partners. These relations, in prospect, are to become those of allies, he added.

Russia's recognition of Slovenia and Croatia will be juridically formalised in the coming days through the delivery of appropriate notes, Churkin said. He pointed out that Russia, as before, will continue to develop relations with the Yugoslav Federation in the form in which it exists.

"We respect the choice of both those peoples who decided on self-determination and those who wish to remain within Yugoslavia," Churkin said.

The Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed concern over another aggravation of the situation in the area of the control line in Kashmir. He appreciated the stands of Delhi and Islamabad which had taken a number of energetic measures to prevent the conflict from spreading. He voiced hope that the sides involved in the conflict would show a responsible approach, prudence and restraint to avert a dangerous development of events.

Russia regards with satisfaction the signing of a nuclear safeguards accord with the International Atomic Energy Agency by North Korea, although there has been a five-year delay, Churkin said. The point now is for the agreement to be ratified by the North Korean parliament as soon as possible and for its implementation to be ensured, Churkin said.

He stated that the problem of a transfer of Kuril Islands to Japan had not been discussed during the meeting between the president of Russia and the Japanese prime minister in New York.

Neither did the permanent working group on a peace treaty between Russia and Japan discuss terms or a timeframe for a transfer of the islands.

Thereby, the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman denied an article published in today's newspaper GLASNOST which asserted that an agreement on the transfer of Kuril Islands to Japan in exchange for credits is ostensibly planned to be signed during Boris Yeltsin's forthcoming visit to Tokyo.

Those present at the briefing were told that a scientific conference workshop on the subject "a transformed Russia in a new world" will be held in Moscow on 26-27 February.

The establishment of a foreign policy council at the Russian Foreign Ministry is to be announced during the conference workshop. Prominent representatives of political and business circles and scientists are being invited to participate in the council's work.

Discusses Kashmir, Security

LD1302141292 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksey Luzin and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—At a briefing here today Russian chief spokesman Vitaliy Churkin voiced concern over the new aggravation of the situation in the area of the control line in Kashmir. He evaluated positively the positions of New Delhi and Islamabad which took several energetic measures to prevent the spread of the conflict.

Nevertheless, the exacerbation of the situation in this area cannot but arouse concern because it threatens not only Indian- Pakistani relations but also security in South Asia as a whole, Churkin emphasised.

"One would like to hope that the parties involved in the conflict will display a responsible approach, prudence and restraint to stave off the dangerous development of events," Churkin said.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1229 GMT on 13 February adds: "It was announced at the briefing that a scientific-practical conference on the theme 'Transformed Russia in the New World' will take place in Moscow on 26-27 February. It is planned to announce the setting up of a foreign policy council within the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for which important representatives of political and business circles are being invited to participate."]

Further on Baker Talks

LD1302143892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1226 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksey Luzin and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—One of the main themes of the forthcoming talks between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and the Russian leadership will be the deepening of the process of disarmament. Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Russian Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, stated this at a briefing here today. James Baker will pay a working visit to Moscow on 17-18 February. The Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman described the present relationship between the United States and Russia as one of partnership which, in the long term, should become one of allies.

During the talks the issue of preventing the proliferation of weapons and technologies of mass destruction connected with its production will also be touched upon as well as some international problems and questions of bilateral relations.

Release of Three POW's in Afghanistan Assured

LD1302162292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] Abdulkarimov, Rustamov, and Ramatov, soldiers of the former Soviet Army who are captives of the Afghan mujahidin, have been given the opportunity to return to their homeland. An agreement on this was reached during the first round of talks between the joint Russian-Uzbek delegation and representatives of the armed Afghan opposition. Replying to a correspondent's question on how soon the other prisoners—and, incidentally, not only citizens of the Central Asian republics, but Russians too—would be freed, Rabbani, one of the mujahidin leaders, linked this with reparations. The mujahidin leaders, he said, are in favor of talks with a single delegation of the Commonwealth of Independent States. This is necessary in order to discuss questions on responsibility for the damage inflicted on Afghanistan by the war, he explained.

Nonetheless, for the moment, three more people have won their freedom. Only one of them, Rustamov, however, has decided to return home. The two others reported that they want to remain in Afghanistan and serve the cause of Islam.

Kuwaiti Delegations Discuss Economic Relations

LD1302214292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1010 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, 13 February (TASS)—"A productive exchange of opinions on a broad spectrum of trade and economic relations has taken place," Petr Aven, chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Ties of the Russian Federation, noted in an interview with the ITAR-TASS correspondent, on the results of his meeting this morning with a governmental delegation from Kuwait headed by Nasir 'Abdallah al-Rudan, minister of finance. The delegation arrived in Moscow yesterday evening on a working visit.

Petr Aven reported that measures to expand trade between Russia and Kuwait, and the question of granting the Russian Federation a loan of 500 million dollars were discussed.

The possibilities were also discussed of participation by Russian companies in restoring Kuwait's oil industry, of Kuwaiti investments in Russia's economy, and on the possible involvement of qualified specialists in work in Kuwait, as well as a number of other questions relating to the development of mutually beneficial bilateral trade and economic cooperation.

Colonel Denies Toxic Freight Sent to Saddam

PM1302172392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Nikolay Burbyga: "No Toxic Agents Aboard the Norilsk"]

[Text] Britain's SUNDAY EXPRESS has reported that a ship from Russia carrying a cargo of nerve gas intended for Saddam Husayn's regime was intercepted in the Red Sea. The newspaper writes that the Norilsk was stopped by an American patrol vessel. As the patrol does not have the authority to confiscate cargo, the ship was ordered to alter course.

By all accounts, the newspaper observes, the Norilsk has now returned to its port of registration—Murmansk.

The interception of the ship, which was officially transporting 14 [as published] tonnes of milk, sugar, and grain, was effected off the coast of Jordan on the say-so of the Israeli special service, Mossad, which, along with U.S. and British specialists, had been tracking the Norilsk's course for four months since suspicions arose that it was conveying containers of lethal substances in the guise of humanitarian aid. Misgivings as to the true nature of the cargo have arisen at a time when Israel has perceived a growing nuclear or chemical threat from that part of the Arab world hostile to it. Israel claims that the Norilsk must have been unloaded in the Jordanian port of 'Aqaba last October, from whence its cargo was freighted to Iraq by land.

As reported to IZVESTIYA by Colonel Viktor Kholstov, a directorate chief of the Directorate of the chief of chemical troops of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces [nachalnik upravleniya Upravleniya nachalnika khimvoysk Vooruzhennykh Sil SNG], "The British newspaper report is nothing more than raving nonsense." Our Armed Forces have never handed

anyone chemical weapons, let alone nerve gas." He went on to elaborate that even someone of the slightest competence knows that nerve gas is not kept in tanks.

But maybe the Norilsk, instead of having military toxic agents on board, was carrying a civilian product, dichlorphos, say, which exterminates cockroaches and which Saddam Husayn needs? But even this suggestion was rejected by Sergey Golubtsov, vice president of the "Roskhimneft" concern, who reported that his department has carried out no trade with Iraq for six years now.

Eduard Voinov, deputy chief of the Murmansk Steamship Company in charge of safety at sea, said the following:

"The ship is indeed registered with us. But the loading was carried out in the foreign ports of Dalian and Syn-khuan-dao [name as transliterated]. The ship was loaded with 12,200 tonnes of various kinds of oilseed meal—somewhat akin to coarse-ground flour—which is used for livestock feed. The ship then put in at the port of Songlim [name as transliterated], where an extra 2,168 thousand [as published] tonnes of various freight in boxes and crates was loaded."

"What sort of freight?"

"There were dry-cell batteries in the crates, tomato paste, kitchen equipment; there were no chemicals, let alone nerve gas, on board the ship. The ship was indeed detained by the U.S. Navy in the Red Sea. The American military inspected part of the cargo and, of course, found no toxic agents. The ship's charterer, a German called Henrik, then made the decision, because of the detention of the ship and the loss of time, to redirect the freight to the Danish port of Esbjerg, where it was all unloaded."

DPRK Ambassador on 'Team Spirit' Maneuvers

LD1302151892 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Oleg Polovko and Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—The main obstacles for the Korean peninsula to become nuclear-free have been eliminated, but thorough work is in store to implement the idea, according to North Korean Ambassador to Russia Son Song-pil.

The latest positive developments promoted the task, the ambassador told TASS on Thursday [13 February]. U.S. nuclear weapons were withdrawn from South Korea, no joint U.S.-Korean "Team Spirit" maneuvers will be held this year, the North and South agreed to proclaim the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone and signed an agreement on peace and nonaggression.

However, several problems exist that may impede the implementation of the task, according to the ambassador. It is not clear whether the "Team Spirit" military exercises will be cancelled next year as well. Nuclear weapons aboard U.S. war ships based in Asia and the Pacific region worry North Korea. Besides, the recent news on a possible Japanese nuclear military research are also a concern, according to the ambassador.

International control over nuclear objects both in South and North Koreas is an important factor in implementing the idea of a nuclear-free Korean peninsula, Son Song-pil said. North Korea is ready to ratify in the near future its agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency on nuclear inspections, he said, adding "any North Korean nuclear objects" would be then open for international inspection.

Pyongyang will agree to hold a Korean summit only in case it is sure the meeting of the presidents of both Koreas will result in a considerable progress in the reunification issue, the ambassador said. It is too early to speak about the concrete date of the summit, much depends on the South Korean side in the issue, he added.

Official Discusses Baltic Troops, Jurisdiction

OW1402021492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2049 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Interview with Aleksandr Kotenkov, deputy chairman of the Russian parliamentary committee on defense and security and member of the Russian delegation that "recently" visited the Baltic states, by Andrey Borodin; place and date not given; from the "Nation and Society" feature—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Aleksandr Kotenkov [A.K.]: To begin with, the Russian Government delegation has done a good job. Despite serious differences in the negotiating parties' positions and the load of problems which we have inherited from the last, we moved the talks from standstill in just three days.

On the eve of the visit we had agreed that the units and military facilities located in the Baltic states would be put under Russia's jurisdiction. The fact that the Baltic states acquired a definite partner in the talks on the disputable issue largely ensured our success.

The leaders of the Baltic delegations acknowledged that the jurisdiction of Russia applied not only to personnel, but also to the property of the garrisons.

Generally speaking, it will take us a long time to settle the property issue, because in 1940 the Red Army confiscated the movable and immovable army property of the Baltic states. There are other circumstances as well, among them the fact that before the revolution some of the ship-repair yards and ports were built by Russians.

Russia has recognized the Baltic states' right to the property which once belonged to them, and the sides agreed that disagreements could be settled during the talks. It was recognized that these states could claim on a part of the former Union army's property, because they

were building armed [words indistinct] and equipment. The terms of their transfer will also be negotiated and may include free transfer, sale, barter exchange and compensation. Corr. [Correspondent]: How would the schedule of withdrawal be defined? A.K.: An agreement on the withdrawal has been reached already, which is a move of good will on the part of Russia: Russia has no room to accommodate the arriving forces, so accelerated withdrawal is an extremely painful process. We all remember social tensions in the Armed Forces in Russia as a whole after the Union leadership took the hasty decision to withdraw the Soviet troops from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The political ambitions of our leaders rendered servicemen homeless. The withdrawal of the troops from the Baltic republics will begin only when we have room for accommodating them. We'll begin from removing relatively small units from Lithuania and Latvia in February and March - units which will be accommodated in small buildings and territories.

During the visit we cleared away differences over the date of final withdrawal. The Russian delegation managed to convince its partners, although it was not easy to do, not to fix the exact date to avoid repeating the Eastern European variant with unpredictable circumstances. Such a variant would not benefit anyone. The servicemen of the units to be withdrawn will have to spend the winter in tents, all of which may cause serious tensions in Russia. Moreover, news about their plight may reach the units still remaining in the Baltic republics, which will also tell negatively on the situation in the baltic states.

An army newspaper recently published an article entitled "We have what to defend and with what to defend". A simple phrase, which sounds quite ominous in such a tense situation. Corr.: Now what does the withdrawal of the troops from the Baltic state depend on? A.K.: The negotiating parties have discussed a number of factors which can accelerate or slow down this process. Lithuania, Latvia and Russia have documented these factors in their joint communiques. Two of them are of paramount importance. What I mean is the provision of normal living conditions for the troops to be withdrawn, plus the defence capability and security of Russia and the Commonwealth states. The social aspects seem even more important to me. The leading military experts believe that given the current situation, the purely military issues may be moved to the background because none of the Western states can be viewed today as this army group's potential enemy.

Therefore, the chief factor determining the schedule of withdrawal is the availability of garrisons for accommodating the removed units, and adequate living conditions for servicemen. Aware of this, the three Baltic republics volunteered to participate in tackling this problem. The negotiating parties discussed the possibility of using Western loans, above all loans extended by the Scandinavian countries, as well as hard currency compensations to be granted to servicemen by the Baltic governments.

Transport Agreement Signed With Lithuania

LD1302143492 Moscow TASS in English 1846 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow February 12—Russia and Lithuania agreed to maintain the existing order in international transportation, established in intergovernmental agreements concluded earlier by the former USSR with other countries and international conventions in which the former Soviet Union participated. The Russian minister for railway communications Vitaliy Efimov and the Lithuanian minister for transport and communication Jonas Birzhshkis signed an intergovernmental agreement on principles of cooperation and conditions of mutual relations in the transport sphere.

According to the document, each side will ensure "favourable conditions on its territory for functioning of all kinds of transport" of the other side. Transportation of passengers and goods along with the means of transport used will be free from taxes and state revenues connected with the use or maintenance of railways, and also from income and profits earned from transportation.

Minister Mashits Comments on Reforms, Lithuania

LD1002081992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Vladimir Mikhaiylovich Mashits, Russian minister [of economic cooperation with members of the Commonwealth of Independent States], has answered questions on the economic problems in Russia on Lithuanian radio. In particular, answering a question on whether reforms are bogged down, he said the reform is progressing slowly because we are walking through a mine field, as it were, and no other speed is possible at this time. Gaydar is leading the way and is therefore running the highest risk.

According to Lithuanian radio, Vladimir Mashits commented on the independence of the Lithuanian republic after the interview, when the microphone had already been switched off, saying that freedom has its price and that Russia therefore should not accord most-favored-nation status to Lithuania. He also said that Lithuania will meekly come back to the Commonwealth within six months.

Cuban Students Likely To Receive Help

OW1002171292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A statement by a group of Russian parliamentarians on the situation in the field of human rights in Cuba will be made public within the next few days. It will be based on the materials and testimonies, which were submitted to the parliamentary hearings on the issue held on February 8. Hearings will continue in two weeks.

The statement will condemn the existing practice in Cuba of persecuting dissenters, a spokesman for the Russian committee for the protection of human rights in Cuba created last year, told a DP [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent. Representatives of the Committee were taking part in the parliamentary hearings. Special attention will be paid to the lack of freedom of speech and assembly in Cuba. The Cuban authorities will be subjected to acute criticism for keeping dissenters in psychiatric hospitals and applying methods of electric and shocking therapy and psychostimulating drugs.

The statement will urge to solve the problem of granting the Russian citizenship to about a 1000 Cuban students currently studying in Russia and not wishing to return to their native land on political grounds. As their passports have been taken by the Cuban Embassy officials, the do not have any documents even for receiving a residence permit. Kozyrev said he is ready to render help to Cuban "defectors".

Italian Firm Renders Food Aid to Children

LD1402104192 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Over 45,000 items of vitamin-rich children's food costing 800,000 dollars, were donated by the Italian company "Pavan Mapimpianti" as humanitarian aid to Russian children. This gift will be delivered to kindergartens affiliated with enterprises and organizations of the bread-making industry in Moscow and the Moscow region.

"Direct aid" to specific children is much more effective than just giving out aid through centralized channels, which often does not reach the people who need it, President of the company, Angelo Ferro, said at a ceremony when the items were given out. According to him, the firm will continue to render aid to Russian people.

Shelov-Kovedyayev Receives Britain's Howe

LD1202191192 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 12 ITAR-TASS—Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Fyodor Shelov-Kovedyayev has met with a delegation of British parliamentarians headed by the prominent British political leader Geoffrey Howe.

They discussed a wide range of issues, including disarmament, troop withdrawal, the situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States, joint scientific and cultural projects and cooperation in education.

The sides stressed that the Russian-British declaration signed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and British Prime Minister John Major in London on January 30 provides a new basis for relations between both countries.

Kremlin Links With British Party 'Farfetched'

OW1002170692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A statement made at the Russian Government's press center today, February 10, describes as "farfetched" the allegations in the February 2 issue of the Sunday TIMES concerning the overly close links between the British Labor Party and the Kremlin between the years 1979 and 1985.

The statement expresses regret that the allegations, based on conversations with certain Soviet diplomats and on materials from the Soviet Communist Party's archives, have also appeared in some Russian newspapers.

That archives covering today's political scene have been made public has also been described as a sad development.

Barents Sea Demarcation Talks To Start

PM0702125492 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 6 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by Per Anders Madsen: "New Negotiations on a Demarcation Line"]

[Text] Moscow—The negotiations on the demarcation line in the Barents Sea will begin again as soon as possible, Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg was assured during his talks with Russian leaders in Moscow yesterday.

After almost a year during which the long-running and complicated demarcation line negotiations have been on the back burner, the two sides are now drawing up a tight timetable. The demarcation line will be the main topic when Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev pays his planned visit to Oslo in March, and before then a negotiating meeting at civil servant level will be held in Moscow.

"At least we are moving again, and that is the most important thing now. I dare not predict when a solution could be in place," Stoltenberg said after his meeting with Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis in Moscow yesterday.

For his part Burbulis saw no reason for the negotiations to be long and drawn out, but he stressed that he did not know what concrete obstacles might be met along the way.

"Our policy is being reshaped. It is now free from that ambiguity and cynicism which set its stamp on Soviet diplomacy also in relations with the Nordic countries," Burbulis said at a news conference after the meeting.

Stoltenberg clearly made great efforts to concentrate the talks with Burbulis and other Russian politicians on the demarcation line question. He was also given assurances that the Russians too attach great importance to finding a compromise, and that future negotiations will take place on the foundation of what Norway and the former Soviet Union had agreed. As is well known, during his visit to Norway last June former President Mikhail Gorbachev made it clear that agreement has been reached on three-quarters of the disputed area. Since then there have been no negotiations, but there have been "contacts" on the issue, as Foreign Ministry staff put it.

The talks between Burbulis and Stoltenberg took the form of a review of bilateral relations, and Burbulis said that the existing cooperation agreement in both the economic and environmental fields must be revised. Russian areas bordering the Nordic area and Norway will be given special status in the hope of stimulating cooperation.

Disarmament questions were also raised, and the Russian side stated that the withdrawal of units from the Baltic countries must not create problems for the European disarmament process. This is of particular relevance to Norway, because Norway has noticed a tendency for the base complexes on the Kola Peninsula to be strengthened as a result of the transfer of military units from former Soviet territories.

The opening of the Northeast Passage to Western sea traffic offers promising prospects to northern Norwegian industry and commerce.

"The date of 1 March has been mentioned but, as is often the case, I am taking nothing for granted before the opening is a reality," Stoltenberg said.

He expressed great satisfaction with his lightning trip to Minsk, Moscow, and Kiev—his first visit to the new republics.

"I have been given a thorough introduction to the situation in the new Commonwealth, and this sort of overview is also the best guarantee that the development of bilateral relations will be the best possible."

Canadian Envoy on 'Readiness' To Work Together

LD1302145192 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev, first deputy foreign minister of the Russian Federation, on Wednesday [12 February] received Canadian Ambassador to Moscow Michael Bell at the latter's request, the Foreign Ministry announced.

The two men discussed bilateral Russian-Canadian relations and the two countries' interaction in international affairs.

Mutual satisfaction was expressed with the current state of relations between Russia and Canada, and the newly-found closeness between the two countries, which was reflected in the results of the February 1 talks in Ottawa between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

The ambassador reaffirmed the Canadian side's readiness to work in the spirit of agreements reached by the two leaders.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin To Give Vice President 'New Powers'

PM1302204092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "President Clarifies Vice President's Powers"]

[Text] The silence between the president and vice president of Russia, which had lasted more than two months, reached its logical conclusion. B. Yeltsin and A. Rutskoy had a long meeting in the president's office in the Kremlin at midday on 12 February. The meeting took place behind closed doors. IZVESTIYA's correspondent was able to obtain a report from the vice president's apparatus shortly after, which said that A. Rutskoy will be given "new powers" in the next few days.

Information obtained from other sources close to the top leadership revealed that on his return from Minsk, B. Yeltsin most likely will sign a decree under which the vice president will be instructed to coordinate the activity of administrative structures relating to the development of private farming in Russia. The draft for this decree was drawn up in the government and the idea it is based on was discussed at a recent closed session of the cabinet of ministers. Incidentally, the vice president has not been invited to the weekly government sessions for a long time now.

In this connection it should be recalled that at the time of the formation of the present government structures, about 10 state committees and services were placed under the vice president's care and direct jurisdiction. He was also charged with creating the national guard in Russia. Nonetheless, the range of his duties has gradually

narrowed. And this process accelerated as he stepped up his criticisms of the government and his repudiation of its practical implementation of reforms.

As of today Rutskoy is basically left with no real jobs. Taking into account his negative attitude to the transformations being implemented by B. Yeltsin's team in Russia, it may be assumed that the purpose of the expected presidential decree is to restrict the vice president's activity to specific tasks and safeguard the course of reforms against unforeseen circumstances. This conclusion became obvious as a result of his recent speech at the congress of so-called civic and patriotic forces in the "Rossiya" movie theater, where the vice president basically aligned himself with the chauvinist ideas of national patriots. It is hard to say at present why private farming was chosen to occupy the vice president.

The president has confirmed what was said repeatedly before—in particular during the attack by parliament—namely, that he will defend the government. He sided with the government, which is having a hard time at present. He is still on their side because in the event of the cabinet's resignation, which is sought by still powerful forces in the military-industrial complex, in the new monopolist economic structures, in the army, the trade unions, and even in parliament, B. Yeltsin will find it hard to form a new cabinet for reforms.

Yeltsin Greets, Appeals to War Veterans

PM1302163992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 1

[Message of greetings from Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin to constituent conference of Great Patriotic War veterans; dat 10 February 1992]

[Text] To the Organizing Committee of the Russian Constituent Conference of the Final Wartime Draft of Great Patriotic War Participants

Conference participants!

Dear Veterans!

I back the establishment of the Russian organization of Great Patriotic War participants of the final wartime draft.

Yours has not been an easy lot—your life was marked by participation in mankind's grimmest war. But you also know the price of victory, you know what effort it takes, and what labor and courage it demands.

Russia is living through hard times at the moment. However, the main thing has been done, the economic reform has been initiated, we have embarked on the road which all civilized countries have traveled. And this road has to be traversed, and its first and most difficult stretch must be conquered.

I am pinning my hopes on the veterans' wisdom and experience. Your balanced stance will help us all to stand fast during these difficult months.

I assure you that the government of Russia will continue to give you the necessary backing.

I wish you good health, a firm spirit, and fruitful work at the conference.

With respect,
B. Yeltsin
10 February 1992, Moscow

Rutskoy Outlines Political Philosophy

MK1302130092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Feb 92 p 5

[Article by Vice President A. Rutskoy: "Alternative: 'Strong Authority For Democracy.' Vice President's Political Credo"]

[Text] I would like to structure this article in the form of a dialogue. A dialogue with those readers who responded to the publication of my interview in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 13 December 1991.

I am sometimes asked: Why does the vice president, who is up to his eyes in resolving everyday problems, enter into a theoretical discussion on the nature of democracy, ways to achieve it, and so on. That is of course true in principle: Political scientists and theoreticians should tackle theory. But there are questions that no person living on Russian soil can escape, no matter who he is. Why is a once great and powerful country that the whole world took into consideration turning before our eyes into something vague, with no clear borders, statehood, or even name? How have massive violations of the most basic, universally recognized human rights been possible—above all the rights to life, to guaranteed security, to freedom of movement, and to a certain level of economic prosperity? What is preventing the development of such inalienable components of modern society as a multiparty system, separation of powers, and tolerance of dissent?

I have absolutely no intention of presenting my opinion as something complete and all-embracing. My article is more like a citizen's reflections than a political leader's program.

I will talk about democracy and the ways to achieve it with reference to the specific situation that has taken shape in Russian society.

First, I will begin by saying something that for me is indisputable: For me, commitment to the ideal of political democracy is not a question of knowledge or of intellect, but of faith. Strictly speaking and in purely rational terms it is impossible to prove that a democratic system which implies freedom of choice and responsibility is in any way better than other forms of government. There will be people everywhere who will claim

that freedom of choice for the individual is totally pointless, that the political elite, the bureaucracy, or an enlightened (or unenlightened) dictator know better than the people themselves what the people need, and that there is no sense in people going to polling stations once every four years if they do not possess, say, political culture, knowledge, and sometimes even basic literacy. There will also be those who will try to prove that we need not a democratic ideology, but some kind of "original," strictly "national" blend of traditional Communism, Russian nationalism, "Saddam Husaynism," or something a little sharper, since that is supposedly the unique nature of the Russian people.

I will not argue with these views, and my article is accordingly not addressed to the repositories of these ideas.

My reflections are directed to those who are convinced that democracy is needed in Russia and that it is necessary to strive toward it. But the question immediately arises here: Do we have a correct understanding of what democracy is? Let me cite the results of a recent public opinion poll published in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. When asked "What is democracy?" only 10 percent of those polled were able to give definitions that were in any way reminiscent of those generally accepted in contemporary political science.

My notion of what democracy should be ideally is hardly substantially different from that accepted in developed countries' political science and political practice. Needless to say, democracy in the political sense is a system that ensures the possibility of honest competition for power, mainly between political parties. Without doubt, this means the absence of arbitrary restrictions on participation in the political process. There is no doubt that democracy entails mutual respect for political opponents, tolerance of outlook, and unswerving observance of democratically adopted laws. It is equally obvious to me that political democracy is inconceivable without democracy in the economic sphere, but this is also a truism for both neoliberal and social democratic thinking.

Why am I reiterating these formulas that are quite obvious to any political scientist and are, incidentally, taken from contemporary works of political science? Merely to stress once again an idea that I voiced during the interview: There is no democracy in Russia today. It was this claim that elicited the largest number of objections in letters.

It is easy to compare the criteria that I have cited with what exists today in Russian political life in order to reach a quite unequivocal conclusion. Where are the conditions in our country for honest and free political competition between parties if obstacles are created at every turn for these very fledgling parties that have not yet fully formed? Where is the tolerance of dissent when recent teachers of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and "scientific communism" are today willing to mount a "witch hunt" solely on the grounds of past membership of CPSU leadership structures? Where is this tolerance when some "democrats" are already calling for new state security services that are, incidentally, incapable of defending the country's legitimate national interests and suppressing any possible opposition? Where is the respect for the law when in broad daylight servicemen are being murdered in front of members of their families and Russian citizens are being abducted and taken to the territory of neighboring independent states? Last, what kind of economic democracy can there be today when, against the increase in financial speculative capital over and above all reasonable limits, some "academic" has calculated a subsistence minimum of 342 rubles [R]?

Democracy for me is not a system based on any pro forma characteristics. I take a different, probably not very scientific view. For me the center of any political system should be man, the individual, his needs, requirements, natural rights, and aspirations. I do not like the idea put about by certain contemporary "neoliberals" that no price can be considered too high if it is a question of freedom. The price is important to me. It seems that we are once again being told to sacrifice the future of the present generation, admittedly this time not for the "communist future," but for the "free market and democracy." The price once again turns out to be human life. And it also turns out that it is but one step from Bolshevism to neo-Bolshevism. Certainly I do not understand at all why this ideology should be described as liberal. After all, as I understand it, we cannot reduce classical liberalism to the concept of the free market, an atomized society, and unfettered individualism. It is the ideology of man's liberation, both economic and political.

Today we are observing mass disillusionment with democracy. Without most people realizing what democracy might be, people involuntarily associate the term itself with the current chaotic situation. Hence the slogans: Give us back wages of R120 and 1984 prices. And, evidently, the political system of the same period at the same time. What could be more terrible than that?

All the same I am convinced that we can and must move on from this current state of anarchy and of dictatorship by the new "businessmen"—and sometimes of mere street dictatorship—to a truly democratic society. But how can this switch be effected?

There is room for discussion here. Which approaches do I disagree with? Above all I do not agree that the problem of the transition to democracy can be regarded in isolation, out of context from national-state problems. Until we determine our position once and for all on our state system and ascertain in precisely which country we are living, the best, scientifically well-founded projects for economic reform will encounter obstacles at every turn.

I will venture to voice an idea here with which I am sure that not everyone will agree. In my view, many representatives of our intelligentsia in fighting to dismantle the "communist" system have somehow lost sight of the

problem of preserving a unified state system in the vast Eurasian area of the former USSR. What is more, at some stage in this struggle obviously antistate sentiments emerged.

Petr Struve once wrote that the "ideological form of the Russian intelligentsia is... its alienation from and hostility toward the state." I will not venture to judge how right these words were at the time that Struve's article was written, but it is obvious to me that this trend is manifesting itself increasingly clearly today.

Let us look at current articles on the problem of statehood. Some writers have already gone so far as to say that the "totalitarian system" must break down into all its component parts, including the state system, and that the sooner this happens, the better. Perhaps then it will be possible to build some kind of new edifice, including a state edifice, out of the scattered bricks. But this is once again pure neo-Bolshevism—let us raze the old world to the ground and then begin building a new one in accordance with some previous plan of ours. So, when speaking of the move to democracy, we must always bear in mind the problem of preserving the Russian state system and, in the broader context, of restoring a unified democratic state system on the territory of the larger Eurasian area.

In this connection I have another, also contentious, idea. It is time to stop talking about the "destruction of the totalitarian system." The fact is that, once the "great perestroyka" began, totalitarianism in its pure form no longer existed in our country.

I am saying this because it has a direct bearing on the current problem of moving to democracy. In actual fact, if our society is still an unstructured mass, if it is incapable of any social self-organization, as supporters of the "totalitarian model" claim, it only remains for us to wait and hope that some "enlightened dictator" will take the country to the benefits of the market and democracy. I do not believe in this and will hardly believe it in the future. I do not find references to Franco and Pinochet entirely convincing. These dictators could only move the balance of interests in a civil society in the direction that they wanted: The trade unions were "squeezed" and entrepreneurs were given freedom of action. But no dictator forms the full-fledged civil society without which democracy is inconceivable. Suppose that a dictator like that appears in Russia: He will most likely act in his own interests and in the interests of the elite groups backing him. And that does not result in democracy. Since democracy means the interlinkage and balance of interests that really exist in a society where no one group can oppress and subordinate all the others.

Some "authoritarians" act on the conviction that the only real force capable of implementing market-type transformations is a "superpeople" elite comprising the new bureaucracy and representatives of the new commercial structures. There are simply no other organized interest groups: Society is atomized and it is therefore necessary to place emphasis on the stratum that is cohesive, possesses knowledge and experience, and has clear economic and political aspirations.

The following occurs virtually entirely in accordance with this theory: Old and new structures of authority close ranks with the "new business," and this "new class" overtly and shamelessly subordinates all other social groups to it. How the national press has already glorified all these "young millionaires"—bankers, stock exchange personnel, and traders! Except that they have not yet told people to idolize them. But is this trading corporation ready to waive its own interests in some measure for the sake of the "public good?" The answer, in my view, is unequivocal. And it will continue to be so until other educated groups form in society—a worker and trade union movement, say, consumers' councils, and so on—that will also be able to defend their own interests and have a real influence on the system of political representation. The same applies to political power. No dictator, not even an "enlightened" dictator, will voluntarily give up power until some fairly powerful pressure from organized interest groups forces him to do so.

I would suggest another means of switching to democracy—via a period of strong authority under the control of democratically elected institutions.

What do I mean by a "strong authority?" By no means authority based on terror, oppression, and force. "The power of authority," Ivan Ilin wrote, "is above all its spiritual-state prestige, its ability to command respect, its recognized merit, and its ability to impress citizens."

This authority must above all ensure strict execution of adopted laws. An authority whose supreme representatives adopt decrees and resolutions and then hurriedly abandon their implementation, frightened of the possible "undesirable" political consequences, cannot be considered strong. Let me repeat once more: Decisiveness entails fewer losses than indecisiveness. Indecisive authority gives rise to disrespect for the law and directly causes it to be flouted. Let me cite Ivan Ilin's words once more: "In state affairs the government must be the strong-willed [volevoy] center of the country. Lack of will and weak will do not impress the Russian. While not having a mature, strong-willed character himself, the Russian demands a strong will [volya] of his ruler... He needs imperative, cogent authority." The former Union leaders' indecisiveness and inconsistency brought about the breakup of the unified state system: This breakup had tragic consequences. I am profoundly convinced that, had the Union leadership displayed the requisite decisiveness and consistency in the past, the Armenian- Azerbaijan conflict might have been avoided in its current form. The indecisiveness and lack of will demonstrated by the Russian authorities in the crisis situation in Checheno-Ingushetia gave a fillip to the process of other "independent states" being proclaimed on Russian territory. That is a familiar scenario, is it not? Once again we can reckon on passivity from the Russian authorities, who verbally seem to be saying that "Russia is a constitutional rather than a treaty-based formation," but

are in actual fact incapable of ensuring the implementation of the Constitution and the law's requirements.

At the same time the strength of a government does not reside in overcentralization and bureaucracy or in an endeavor to subordinate all manifestations of public life to it. Quite the reverse: The activity of today's executive must be channeled into developing rather than retarding the structures of a future civil society. Take government and local administration policy toward parties. How can we attain the level of civilized countries, where the state gives parties money in proportion to their real political influence? Most parties have lacked and still lack premises that are of any use whatsoever and normal working conditions. Another point: One must not think that a democratic society is a society of unfettered individualism. On the contrary, it is a system of complex collaboration among collectives that have voluntarily gotten together. The state's task is to regulate this collaboration and support the groups with the least social and political protection. We do not yet have the appropriate mechanisms. Therefore a "parallel authority," sometimes considerably more refined and effective in its actions than the official authority, is gaining strength.

While encouraging the formation of a civil society a strong government must at the same time under no circumstances interfere in areas that do not by definition come under its jurisdiction: arts, science, literature, and religion.

The new democratic authority will not acquire prestige until the bad tradition of "combining" political and "commercial" posts is suppressed—the tradition whereby a state employee, for instance, becomes a member of a board of a commercial association, bank, company, and so on and "promotes" its financial prosperity through his "political" activity.

The question of privileges must be tackled separately. Many people probably still remember that the subject of privileges was a key issue in the fight against the "CPSU dictatorship." Today it has been totally forgotten for some reason. What a pity! "Public posts," Ilin said, "must give a person a satisfactory reward and should be considered not as a 'meal ticket' but as service." It is not a question of public gestures for effect whereby a minister, for instance, takes the streetcar or makes an appointment at the rayon polyclinic. That is not how to win citizens' trust. Especially since the effect of these performances is short-lived. People see that "democrats" to the same extent as Communists use state posts as "meal tickets." Look: The number of all manner of receptions, "presentations," and foreign tours organized for representatives of the new authorities have already gone beyond all reason. And this is against the backdrop of the country's catastrophic impoverishment.

A strong authority should at the same time be a responsible authority. The government must not forget that sooner or later it will have to answer to the people for its actions. At the same time people are already saying that this government's task is to "clear the way for reform and... resign." It is said that no government that starts market transformations has stayed in power long. With those sentiments there is certainly no point in embarking on transformations. Deception, demagogy, and irresponsible promises are inadmissible in the government's activity. The people must be aware of officials' intentions and plans. The vice premier says today: People are saying: Of course I knew that prices would soar 20 times rather than 2-3 times as a result of liberalization, but I did not say this so as not to "spread panic." (Avoiding "panic" is almost the government's key task). But how will the people trust any forecasts and promises that the authorities make after this? It would be quite a different matter if the reform had clearly defined stages and interim goals.

What are the mechanisms for exercising democratic control of a strong authority's activity? Primarily a democratically elected parliament. This must be an effective establishment. At the moment it is reminiscent of some kind of factory engaged in mass producing laws. Often there is no mechanism to implement them or to monitor their implementation. Some laws have been badly drafted and are not based on experts' findings. This should not be allowed, in my opinion, under any circumstances.

A strong government should not be afraid of possible opposition—either parliamentary or extraparliamentary. When I hear calls for former communists not to be admitted to the system of management, for ideological persecution to be unleashed, and for control established over the mass media, I cannot, to be frank, understand what is behind this: fear of losing power, or just stupidity.

Constant dialogue is needed between the authorities and the opposition rather than ideological name-calling. This dialogue must revolve around specific problems—state, social, and economic. The atmosphere of a populist rally must be replaced by serious comparison of concrete programs.

The mass media are another instrument for democratic, independent control of the authorities. I stress, independent. Was it not for independence of the press that representatives of the intelligentsia and journalists themselves fought for so long? What do we have today? Some newspapers no longer have the courage to publish an opinion that differs in some way from the stance espoused by the "reform team." And if they do so, they accompany the article with a lengthy "editorial commentary" (just like during the times of stagnation), as if to say: Certainly, we are pluralists, but we do of course "support and approve" the "government line" and we do not agree with the material that we are publishing.

People sometimes ask me: Do I really believe in the possibility of establishing democracy in Russia in the near future? After all, my opponents say, we lack the minimum necessary conditions for it and have absolutely no traditions of democracy. I think that we will

undoubtedly come up against tremendous difficulties on the road to democratization. We need a long period of transition. I am not urging you to switch to democracy "immediately and at all costs." That approach results in more experimentalism and social catastrophes. But we must immediately start to move toward democracy. Since one of the axioms of democratic thinking says: The road to democracy lies in gradually expanding rather than limiting democracy.

Rutskoy, Yeltsin 'Have Always Seen Eye to Eye'

OW1302214692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy told a news conference in Moscow on Thursday [13 February] that "President Boris Yeltsin and I have always seen eye to eye on various matters." He acknowledged, however, that "I have indeed had serious differences with some other officials."

Rutskoy gave it to be understood his attitude to reforms had remained unchanged, but added that "I have a couple of my own ideas as to how the reforms should be seen through."

Burbulis: Russia, Ukraine Can Solve Problems

OW1202195292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1846 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the February 14 meeting of the heads of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] nations in Minsk Russia and Ukraine will be faced with "multilevel conciliatory tasks in various areas with the help of a large delegation", the First Deputy Chairman of the Russian federation Gennadiy Burbulis told INTERFAX in an exclusive interview Wednesday [12 February]. He stated that he believes the differences between Russia and Ukraine can be solved. The Vice Premier noted that "we must take the situation by itself, avoiding previous emotional and political opinions". Burbulis added that he is looking forward to the up-coming meeting of CIS leades in Minsk with optimism and is sure that fresh new faces and perspectives will contribute to the development of the Commonwealth.

More on Burbulis Meeting With Industrialists

PM1302144992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Why Russian Leadership Conferred With Directors"]

[Text] It is best to find out the situation in production at this difficult time for the Russian economy with a view to correcting the normative base—this was how First Vice Prime Minister G. Burbulis explained the reasons for convening a meeting of representatives of the Russian Government and Parliament with leaders of state enterprises. This discussion took place on the evening of 10 February in the building on Staraya Ploshchad.

On the whole, to judge from the speeches by the participants in the meeting, Russian industry supports the actions of the reformist cabinet and, what is more, urges people not to give in to pressure from antimarket forces. "Steady as you go, this is how it must be," Yu. Kravtsov, general director of an aviation production association from Ulan-Ude, said. Some other colleagues of his also spoke in this spirit. In particular, they insisted that the government not permit hysterics of the kind: "If they ask us to go, we will." [Russian Federation Economics and Finance Minister] Gaydar should address the people and explain what the cabinet did last week and why, and what it will do next week.

However, the more than two-hour dialogue was still devoted mainly to the difficulties that state enterprises are encountering at the initial stage of the reforms. Their leaders complained of the imperfection of the new tax system, which sometimes kills enterprise, and complained that banks act like usurers, that the government does not help with budget investments, etc. To the credit both of the meeting's chairman and of the other members of the government, as well as the parliamentarians, they behaved worthily: They at once acknowledged the omissions and sought advice on how to rectify them, but sometimes, sad though this may be, they were forced to spread their hands—there is no money in the treasury.

This applied particularly to enterprises in the military-industrial complex. For example, V. Kazimirskiy, director of Yekaterinburg Machine Building Plant, told a story that is in many ways typical of the defense industry: The reduction in budget appropriations has resulted in the plant's warehouses being crammed with military output, and no one wishes to buy it. Of course, he said, buyers would be found abroad, but this must not be done without the government's permission, just as we cannot close down production and go over to civilian output. The threat of the breakup of skilled collectives and the severance of ties with partners all over the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] is imminent. A. Titkin, minister of industry, in the recent past leader of a large plant, and president of the "Gefes" Joint-Stock Company, stated in reply: "Seek partners and sell your output, unless it is on the restricted list of products whose export is forbidden."

Concerned about production, two directors suggested restricting democracy, at least temporarily. Burbulis remarked in this connection that in no way do such measures fit in with the transformations now under way.

I would like to draw attention to the political facet of this meeting. First, it was convened on the initiative of the government, whose sympathies, as is known, lie in another sector—that of joint-stock and private business. Second, it happened following the activation of various

kinds of entrepreneurial formations like A. Volskiy's union, the state enterprise directors' club, and others, and also on a wave of rumors concerning the formation of a "shadow cabinet" for the purpose of ousting the present government. The rumors, by all accounts, are not groundless. Titkin said in conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent that even he is now feeling pressure from functionaries who previously held high posts in the economic hierarchy and who have moved to associations and monopoly concerns. According to him, they are sending signals to state enterprises, above all in the military-industrial complex: Be patient, they say, for there will soon be a new government.

Taking these circumstances into account, the government probably decided, on the pretext of "consultations"—which is also important—to make a solicitous gesture toward working people in state enterprises, many of whom are having a very hard time. They have been promised support, and it has been reported, in particular, that at its session Thursday [13 February] the government will discuss the question of strengthening the role of the institution of directors under the new conditions, as well as a draft decree on the sale of land to the enterprises included in privatization programs.

Unnamed 'Experts' Speculate on Defense Minister

PM1302190092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Nikolay Burbyga report: "Will Galina Starovoytova Be Russian Defense Minister?"]

[Text] Persistent rumors are circulating that Russia will announce the creation of its own armed forces in the near future. A high-ranking White House staffer told the editorial office that a draft on the creation of a Russian army does indeed exist. The president may sign the decree immediately after the 14 February Minsk meeting of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] heads of state.

In that event, who might claim the post of Russian defense minister? Military experts have put forward various theories on this question and even named specific individuals who are well known not only among the military. Here they are: Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, currently commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces; Colonel General Pavel Grachev, first deputy commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces; Army General Konstantin Kobets, Russian Federation state counselor for defense; and Russian Federation People's Deputy Galina Starovoytova.

Unfortunately we have not been able to obtain any more precise information. The same White House staffer said that "nobody knows anything yet...." In our view, there are two possibilities.

First: The CIS Armed Forces main command takes the leading position. Basically there is no change, and the situation remains as it is now. In that event the Russian Defense Ministry will be assigned secondary, limited tasks, such as mobilization preparation, civil defense, and the control of republic units.

But that option is highly problematic because of the special position the Ukraine is adhering to on this question.

The second possibility: The idea of powerful CIS Armed Forces does not prevail, and then the Russian Defense Ministry becomes the leading force. All troops stationed on its territory are declared to be its troops, and that means the Navy, ground forces units, air defense, and the Air Force. The Russian Defense Ministry delegates only narrowly defined tasks to the joint command.

Experts consider this option preferable, and in that event the figure of the Russian defense minister becomes crucial. The military believe that for the transitional period, which will be the most difficult, this post should be held by a military man. The most suitable figure, they believe, is Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov. Although the other military men we mentioned above are not ruled out.

As for Galina Starovoytova, her candidacy was discussed among the military with a large dose of "barracks" irony. Maybe mistakenly so....

Further on Democratic Russia, Yeltsin Meeting

Democrats Name Defense Choices

MK1302142792 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Feb 92 p 1

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Democratic Russia Wants Starovoytova or Shaposhnikov"]

[Text] The Democratic Russia Coordinating Council has taken a tough line on the question of candidacies for the future Russian defense minister. The democrats' representatives opposed Generals Kobets and Grachev 11 February during a meeting with President Yeltsin. The only candidacy "on the military side" that suits the Coordinating Council is Marshal Shaposhnikov. The Coordinating Council also accepts Galina Starovoytova.

Democratic Russia Denies Report

MK1402085092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Feb 92 p 1

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA report under the "In Brief" rubric: "'Democratic Russia' Does Not Want Starovoytova"]

[Text] Members of the "Democratic Russia" Coordinating Council who attended the meeting with Boris Yeltsin 11 February reject the report (NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 13 February 1991) saying that they would like to see Galina Starovoytova as Russian defense minister

and do not want General Grachev. There was no reference to Starovoytova at the meeting at all, and Yeltsin himself talked about Grachev.

The Coordinating Council members claim that no one showed them the text of the decree setting up a Russian Defense Ministry, but that they did discuss with Yeltsin "highly general concepts for the development of the armed forces and steps to provide servicemen with social security."

Adviser Stresses Army Needs 'To Be Fed'

MK1302111592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Feb 92 p 1

["P.F." report under "In Brief" rubric: "Decree on Russian Defense Ministry Ready"]

[Text] On 11 February President Yeltsin showed members of the Democratic Russian Coordinating Council the text of a decree, ready for signature, setting up a Russian defense ministry. However, so his advisers assert, the president has not yet decided finally whom to appoint as the first (since 1917) minister. The most likely candidate "on the military side" remains General Grachev, although others are also being mentioned. There is a woman opposing him: state adviser Galina Starovoytova, who is supported by Democratic Russia.

Starovoytova told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent that many military people (generals) are calling her and speaking in her favor, but she is not telling them either yes or no. Starovoytova thinks that Russia needs a nontraditional military [voyennyy] minister, because "what the army needs today is to be fed and clothed, not to be sent into combat."

'Concrete Steps' Expected in Military Reform

LD1302182592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] Galina Starovoytova, the Russian president's adviser, has annouced that concrete steps for implementation of military reform can be expected in the nearest future. According to her, there are plans to adopt the new strategic doctrine, to form the new army, to establish the new balance between the troops and arms of the service. This was discussed at the consultative meeting of representatives of the servicemen's public organizations in Moscow.

According to Starovoytova, in our troubled times a need might arise for the formations similar in their functions to the UN peacekeeping forces. Starovoytova has stated that there is a need for setting up such formations.

'Legal Vacuum' in Military Sphere Deplored

PM1302170192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 1

[Colonel G. Miranovich article under "A Journalist's Opinion" rubric: "What Does the Army Want? Between Hope and Alarm"]

[Text] Judging by press reports, the man in the street, frightened by certain politicians' predictions about the "inevitability" of military putsches, shuddered yet again when he heard and saw some of the speakers at the 17 January All-Army Officers' Assembly. When, for example, one of the speakers got carried away and asked passionately: "What is stopping us—us, who are authorized to carry weapons—from resorting to the use of force to protect our families and our honor?" Mercifully, not many spoke in this vein. Although, if I had had the opportunity, I would have personally replied to the captain with his own words—it is my honor that is stopping me.

However, let us take a look at the events leading up to this cri de coeur from the officer. Was it really so unexpected? Even back in the times of the USSR people were saying that the state of aimlessness in the army was dragging on dangerously. Military-legislative commissions in districts, groups of forces, and fleets were putting forward projects at the time for the establishment of at least some kind of a legal basis for the Armed Forces' adaptation to a changing world. However, the world was changing faster than the projects were examined. So why shudder now?

Indeed, it is possible to say that thanks to the USSR's last parliament and the former supreme commander in chief, the "man at arms" remains defenseless to this day in the face of the tyranny to which he is being subjected. And that, judging by the difficulty with which the "military" card is being played on the territory of the former Union which he is still defending, this situation will not be easy to overcome.

The latest meeting of the Commonwealth heads of government in Moscow which failed to resolve the question of the funding of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, did not add much certainty either. So what can the military hope for? Should they perhaps themselves take care of billeting and food? Perhaps it is just as well that participation in communism's key construction projects and the annual battle for the harvest have equipped the valorous Soviet Army with experience in the sphere of construction, agriculture, and livestock breeding, which no other army in the world has.

Furthermore, we can hope to get what remains of the rations of the U.S. "professionals" which the latter did not manage to use up during the victorious blitzkrieg in the Near East. But will our stomachs be tough enough to digest it? It is not easy either for the Americans to cope with the confusion in our country: Which army should

they feed—the Ukrainian Army, the Azerbaijani Army, or, despite everything, the army which, for the time being, is still regarded as the sole defender of the CIS?

As for attitudes to the Officers' Assembly itself, they may vary, of course. It can be viewed like "a lunar eclipse on a bright day," for example. Or, which is more "effectful," you could bestow the status of "the latest CPSU Congress" on this sole little island of democracy in the army, which some clearly sensation-seeking journalists have done. It is also possible to dub the forum to which officers have brought the problems and concerns of thousands of their comrades as a "sabbath of carrion-crows" as one of the authors of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has done. It is also possible to describe the officer assembly delegates as "traitors" as has happened in one of the "600 Seconds" programs. However, I believe that all these divergent assessments have one thing in common—unwillingness to acknowledge the powerful, constructive striving which, irrespective of all the outbursts of emotion, was nonetheless apparent in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses 17 January, and which, whether lovers of extremes like it or not, is inherent in our officer corps. This was further corroborated by the work of the coordinating council of officer assemblies, which was reported in some detail in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

No matter how hard people try to distort the essence of what is happening, there is no denying the truth. And the truth is, as God is my witness, that Russian officers, and the officers from other territories of the former Union who have not betrayed the oath which they once took, do not live by bread alone, and much less so by a desire to "revive the empire." They are waiting, as is honestly stated in the Assembly's final document, for parliaments and heads of the independent states of the Commonwealth to adopt civilized and well-thought-out decisions on the Armed Forces, decisions which are backed up by legislation. And, let's be frank, they are showing restraint while waiting. Which unfortunately cannot be said about certain journalists and politicians who are itching to divide up the military cake.

True, the officer corps' waiting is not passive, to put it mildly. Furthermore, there are cases where people driven to desperation go to extremes. As was the case, for example, at the Bratsk aviation garrison. In response to the oblast administration's decision to put up charges for kindergartens and creches, officers threatened to cut back combat alert duties and not to implement other tasks.

This kind of "unparliamentary" practice of resolving day-to-day mundane conflicts is unfortunately, and to our shame, not confined to this incident. But are the military alone to blame? Just take a look how the parliaments of certain independent states and their presidents treat our brethren. What must it be like for Russians today in the Ukraine, for example, where officers who did not take the Ukrainian oath were promised only yesterday that they would be able to keep their posts and remain at their stations, and where today even district troop commanders are being removed from their posts? And what if "mundane circumstances" nonetheless force an officer to take a new oath—how is he to bring himself to say the formal "I have the honor [to take my leave]!" which is customary at the Officers' Assembly? Involuntarily you ask yourself whether any politician who has taken upon himself the role of deciding the fate of the army and navy can act using civilized methods. Such thoughts, understandably, do not make for zeal in service or stability in army and navy ranks.

Nor is the waiting for the meeting of the heads of state of the Commonwealth passive, in the sense that intensive work is under way in the army and the navy on drafting proposals concerning the whole spectrum of problems connected with life and work in the new conditions. Summing up these proposals it is possible to say that they are primarily geared to eliminating of the legal vacuum both in the military sphere as such, and in relations between the independent states and the defense structures which they are setting up. In other words, this means that in the wake of the Minsk meeting we must, apart from everything else, finally get to know clearly what kind of Armed Forces the CIS has, who finances them, and how, and who commands them and in what way.

Naturally, this is only a very general view of the package of documents which are being submitted by the Armed Forces to the heads of state of the Commonwealth for their consideration. However, even so it bears out that there is no diktat, as some mass media are claiming, especially in respect of the coordination council of officers assemblies. It is merely a question of the officer corps' desire to help politicians in the quest for civilized methods of resolving military problems.

Will the heads of sovereign states come to understand the need for such an approach, the need for joint defense of the common military-strategic area? Will they take concerted steps in this direction? Let's wait and see. For the time being one thing is clear—the army and the navy cannot be torn between hope and alarm forever.

Former Parliament Head Threatens Hunger Strike

LD1402094892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0855 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, 14 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Anatoliy Lukyanov, former chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who was arrested in the fall last year on a charge of being a party to the attempted August coup, has demanded that the criminal proceedings instituted against him should be dropped.

In a statement conveyed by him from the "Matrosskaya Tishina" investigation isolation prison and published in the last issue of the DEN newspaper, Lukyanov recalls that at the end of November last year the Procuracy was forced to retract the initial charge of "betrayal of the

motherland by effecting damage to the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and security of the USSR," and brought a new charge—"on conspiracy for the purpose of seizing power"—against him.

The former head of the Union Parliament who is known not to have been a member of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, thinks the new charge "is just as senseless" as the initial one. "This would mean that I wanted to seize power from the USSR Supreme Soviet whose interests I have always tried to vindicate," he stressed.

In his opinion, at the present time, "when the Soviet Union has disintegrated, there is no longer either sovereignty or territorial integrity within the USSR, or Union bodies, and officials, whose power one can attempt to seize". As Lukyanov goes on to assert, there are no all-Union bodies of law and order that are "competent to examine this case".

In these conditions, the former head of Parliament believes that his innocence and the unlawfulness of keeping him under guard "evoke no doubt". Lukyanov expresses the conviction that an attempt has thereby been undertaken to give short shrift to "a person who openly spoke out in favor of retaining the USSR and its representative bodies".

In the event of a refusal to drop the criminal proceedings instituted against him, the former chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet has threatened to "resort to an extreme measure—a hunger strike".

Central Committee Official Commits Suicide

OW1302130492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1048 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A former high-ranking official from the trade and services section of the Central Committee of the CPSU Boris Pavlov hanged himself last night in his apartment in Olimpiisky Prospect in Moscow. His last post was that of the deputy head of the trade mission of the Kalmuk Autonomous Republic in Moscow.

His wife said her husband "died tragically taking away his own life", but refused to name any reasons.

Boris Pavlov is the fourth former party official to commit suicide. The others were heads of the Central Committee office Nikolay Kruchina and Georgiy Pavlov and deputy head of the international department Dmitriy Lisovolik, all of whom died last year.

Consular Official on Passport Changes, Problems

924C0589A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Feb 92 p 6

[Interview with Vasiliy Vinogradov, chief of the Consular Administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Vitaliy Buzuyev; place and date not given: "What Will We Show at the Border?"]

[Text] The USSR is dead, but its "work" lives on. In 1993 a law on exit and entry will go into effect that was passed by the parliament of the former Union.

"In any case, this normative act has not repudiated anything, it does not contradict the constitution of Russia, and, apparently, it will be received by law enforcement organs for implementation," my interlocutor, Vasiliy Vinogradov, chief of the Consular Administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, believes.

I ask him:

"Does this mean that on 1 January 1993 any citizen of Russia who 'is not a bearer of state secrets' will be able to receive his own passport at the rayon visa and registration department and, as the saying goes, head out for all points, if he has a visa for at least one of those 'points'."

[Vinogradov] Alas, I cannot give any guarantees. Relatively recently, Gosznak [State Administration for Printing and Engraving] bought equipment for $3.5 million for the preparation of passports. It can produce 5 million annually. For a country like Russia, this is very little. According to our calculations it is necessary to produce 20 million. You yourself realize how much the purchase of the necessary capacities will cost. I am not even talking about the fact that, in addition to this, there is a need for paints, foil, and other components; as a rule, imported ones. Incidentally, this is the reason for the high duty for passport preparation that citizens who are going abroad pay. We try to cover the costs to at least a small extent.

[Buzuyev] The system for drawing up exit documents obviously did not succeed, because of the changes that occurred in our country. As a result, not very long ago a passport of a new type appeared in the world... with the symbolism of the USSR. Will passports be issued with Russian symbols?

[Vinogradov] Yes, they will be, as soon as we receive an appropriate decision of the Supreme Soviet. But I do not think that the passports of USSR citizens should be put under the knife. Germany, for example, after encountering a similar problem, turned to other countries and requested that passports of the GDR be recognized until 1995, and it got their concurrence. We also must economize.

[Buzuyev] According to the new passports, travel can be accomplished in private and business vehicles. Does this mean that the "blue" official passports have become invalid?

[Vinogradov] No, it does not mean this. The division into "blue"—official, "red"—those common to all citizens, and "green"—diplomatic passports, will remain. The only thing that is required, for example, with respect to the "blue" passports, is reregistration. Many Union structures have been eliminated now, and people who

worked in them have transferred to various commercial enterprises and cooperatives. They are supposed to surrender their "blue" passports and receive "red" ones of a new type in exchange. Otherwise, they will not be permitted to go abroad.

[Buzuyev] But are there enough "red" passports?

[Vinogradov] Enough have already been made for this year.

[Buzuyev] How effective is control over the number of passports issued, as the saying goes, per individual? I, for example, heard that someone was able to get as many as five or six passports of the new type in his own name...

[Vinogradov] For the time being, it must be admitted, we cannot guarantee effective control. Within a half year we plan to computerize the process of formulating documents. We will set up our own data bank. In principle, we permit two passports per person. For example, a citizen goes abroad with one passport, and his other document is in an embassy for drawing up a visa.

[Buzuyev] Incidentally, besides visas for the country to which we are going, the foreign travel passport must have an authorizing signature—a Soviet exit visa. Is there any need for this?

[Vinogradov] I think that this is an anachronism. Our citizens who live abroad no longer require it—such a decision has been made. We hope that the question of discontinuing the Soviet exit visa statement for all Russians will be resolved before 1993.

[Buzuyev] Visas are required now not only by Western countries but also by the former USSR republics, is that not so?

[Vinogradov] Of the Baltic countries, only Estonia has adopted a decision on registration for entry into the republic. A person entering Estonia with a regular internal passport receives an insert and pays 25 rubles. [end Vinogradov]

POSTSCRIPT. The difficulties that exist in drawing up exit documents have not lessened. I know several examples of people being unable to obtain their legal passports. One of my acquaintances who has left permanently made an application for exit and received a written rejection (as is required today). The reason was indicated: They said he possessed "state secrets." In fact, he did not. His chief, simply out of a sense of basic vengeance, inserted an entry in a pertinent questionnaire on his subordinate's access to official secrets. But when will the law finally protect us?

A second example. A person was sent on an urgent official trip. All the documents had to be drawn up in several days. "It is not done," state employees told him. To get a foreign travel passport, it is first necessary to coordinate the exit with "the organs." But this means a 20-day wait. Of course, the official trip did not take place. Dependence on officialdom is humiliating. But what can be done? This is a double-edged sword: Before the system changes, the people themselves have to change, and vice-versa, before the people change, it is necessary to change the system. A typical soviet problem. Even though it is 1992 outside.

Party Head on Goals of Patriotic Forces

OW1402033692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2049 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Interview with Viktor Aksyuchits, chairman of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement [RCDM] and participant in the Congress of Civil and Patriotic Forces held in Moscow 8-9 February, by INTERFAX correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Nation and Society" feature—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Viktor Aksyuchits: I do not think that political views of one party can dominate the Russian Popular Forum. The task of Russia's salvation makes us forget about ideological differences. The left-wing extremist political doctrine has taken the upper hand in Russia's state policy. Its implementation has brought about nothing but the collapse of the economy, the disintegration of the state, the division of the army equipped with nuclear weapons and, finally, the threat of ethnic carnage and civil war. The fear of that coming catastrophe and the growing influence of the right prompted the organizations standing both to the right and to the left of the RCDM to get united. For example, to the right are the Cadets and the All-Russian National Union (ARNU), to the left—some instructive organizations.

We are unanimous in the opinion that both spiritual and economic revival of Russia is possible only if the Russian statehood is maintained. Its destruction would lead to the destruction of everything. In essence, we have no significant differences with the Cadets. It's a temporal party with a temporal program while our program is religious. We complement each other formulating the same ideals for different people in different languages. We are putting together two wings of a single state policy.

The ARNU consists mainly of former CPSU members. They still retain communist stereotypes and ideals while we praise the most a personality and his/her rights. Our coalition will represent a classical conservative specter of parties similar to Western Christian parties and the Republican Party in the USA.

Our main opponents are the Democratic Russia and all organizations linked to it. In fact, the Democratic Russia's policy has led the country into the present situation. The same thing can be said about the Democratic Reform Movement, the party of the current ruling nomenklatura which lacks support by the society and its own constructive program. The fact that they are in a crisis only proves the groundlessness of their political doctrine.

We break away from the left extremist political organizations, such as that of Nina Andreyeva, as well as the ultra-right "Pamyat" and Zhirinovskiy.

Corr. [Correspondent]: You have not mentioned the Socialist Party of Workers and "Working Russia". Are they your potential allies or opponents?

V.A. [Viktor Aksyuchits]: I do not think that "the CPSU's fragments" can become our allies. But we realize that among 18 million Communists are many people who are under delusions and influence by a number of pro-communist organzations. These people are instinctively seeking to preserve our great country, but they don't see the real force on which to rely due to lack of political education. We are trying to draw such people to our side, let met stress it, not organizations, but individuals. [sentence as received] By the way, that corresponds with the key principle of Christianity: not to label people as good or bad, but to struggle for the victory of goodness in their hearts.

Corr.: Still, what social groups support you?

V.A.: Given the crisis in the country, it is hard to distinguish the RCDM's social basis. Such parties as the RCDM fare well only in the stable political situation. Nevertheless, I am convinced that as soon as Russia gets out of the crisis, the Christian Democrats will take the lead among the parties promoting traditional human values. Our movement will gain a very broad support in society. There are millions of believers in this country. And there are even more people sympathizing with religion. The main advantage of the Christian Democrats is that they are aimed at reviving the best traditions in Russian history and culture. All of the RCDM's founders know Russian history and politology well. They have a much wider outlook than those educated in the spirit of communist ideas. Let me give you one example: at the first congress three deputies - Astafyev, Rumyantsev and I - put the Russian flags on our tables. The congress ruled to remove these "imperial", "czarist" symbols from the hall. However, later the same deputies proclaimed that tricolor the Russian state flag.

Our movement is strong because we are open for the best in the West European politics and experience of the countries where the Christian Democrats is the ruling party. The transition from totalitarianism to democracy in Germany and Italy was carried out by the Christian Democrats. We are trying to use that experience.

Corr.: Tell me something about the history of the Russian Christian-Democratic Movement. Were there ever any parties with your orientation in Russia?

V.A.: No. But that isn't important. We aren't reviving any political party but rather Russia's best political traditions. The situation in our country is abnormal: we are rich in natural resources which we can't use effectively so we live like beggars. We have a unique national religious property, the wealth of Russian philosophical, political, and economic thought yet we are busy with other ideas.

The purpose of our movement is to use the gems of our domestic thought to the advantage of society. For example, the unprecedented experience of the Government Dumas, the Zemstvo, or the court of jurors in government construction. Or Spiranskiy's, Aleksey II's, and Stolypin's ideas on government reconstruction. And finally the work of Berdyaev, Ilyin, Solonevich, Novgorodtsev and others exiled to the West by the Revolution; they remained patriotic and synthesized the experience of western and domestic culture in their works. Many of their thoughts are extremely current...

Corr.: What does history tell you?

V.A.: If we manage to form a powerful political current which forces our current leadership to change its political and economic course our first demand will be to declare the Russian Federation the just heir of the Soviet Union and to preserve the unity of the army under its rule in order to prevent borders from becoming fronts. Second will be to solve the problem of debated territories through political means. with negotiations and referendums. The obrders established by Lenin and Stlain contradict the interests of tens of millions of people. It's impossible to create a successful government based on this phantasmagoria.

Thirdly, the main focus should be on changing the form of ownership in the economy: this must be accomplished openly and by adhering to definite pronciples. We should stress the development of Russian business rather than rely on western capital. We need to attract the leadership of talented domestic businessmen who know what is needed for the development of business.

Corr.: And how do you propose to solve the most serious problem, the national problem?

V.A.: The conditions in the republics of the former USSR were brought on by the struggle with the centralized communist regime. It couldn't be any other way. But in various regions leaders have come to power who are using this struggle to cement their own power. The idea of this alliance of liberal-communists and local separatists is to break from Russia and secure themselves from democracy and radical social reform. This illusion can last a long time. The people will reunite.

Patriotic Forces Leader Criticizes Democrats

LD1402084892 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—"Saying that they accept pluralism, leaders of the Soviet Communist Party really had no respect for the opinion of others. The same is true of democrats now. They have closed all doors to communists", Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the coordination council of the People's Patriotic Forces, told ITAR-TASS on Thursday [13 February].

Zyuganov believes that this should not be done. While being obviously intolerant of the present Russian

leaders, critics of the government have their own concept of how Russia should overcome the crisis.

Till August of last year, Gennadiy Zyuganov, being secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, was one of the opponents of Mikhail Gorbachev and Aleksandr Yakovlev.

Now he criticises the Russian president. Drawing on works by Ludwig Erhard, the author of The Economic Reform in Postwar Germany, Zyuganov upholds the idea of maximum incentive for producers in the country. He believes that there should be a 39-hour working week and that there should be no tax on what is produced overtime and above the fixed norm. Then people will have an incentive to work more, and the output will increase. Zyuganov believes that while Yeltsin makes a reference to Ludwig Erhard's concept, he does not follow it.

Regarding the establishment of market relations, Zyuganov said that the Russian authorities make emergent Russian entrepreneurs face a tough competition from Western partners and still expect them to hold out.

Citing Japan's example, he believes there is a need for economic measures that would prevent Western competitors from crowding out the country's own entrepreneurs.

"It is now suggested that we should stifle our own industry. There are promises to bring products from the East and from the West. These products will be brought, no doubt, but the country's own production will be halted as a result, and 40 million people will be thrown into the street. This creates a prerequisite for social tension in the future".

Zyuganov said that political stabilisation on a basis of concluding a federal treaty in Russia is the essential condition for the survival of society. This would stop the republic's disintegration according to the ethnic principle.

Khasbulatov Meeting With Ostankino Viewed

MK1402081592 Moscow KOMMERSANT in Russian No 6, 3-10 Feb 92 p 29

[Sergey Samoshin article: "Ostankino Extends Hand to Commonwealth. CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Television: Khasbulatov Will Not Give and Kravchuk Will Not Bite"]

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of the Russian parliament, took part 6 February in a session of the Ostankino television company board of directors devoted to the company's disastrous financial position. Khasbulatov promised to "find ways of overcoming the crisis" if the leaders of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] meeting 14 February in Minsk fail to resolve the question of every state's shared participation in the Ostankino company.

First Ruslan Khasbulatov made a speech about the Commonwealth's most acute problems and then Yegor Yakovlev, chairman of the Ostankino television company, described the company's ambiguous position. He said that Ostankino could become virtually an international company—with founders from the CIS countries. However, Ukrainian President Kravchuk's position is to divide up Ostankino into 11 parts and allocate times to all the republics, setting up a monitoring panel for the purpose.

At the same time the "Ostankino" budget is designed so that CIS states participate in paying for communication services. In accordance with the president's decree the Finance Ministry should have held talks with the CIS governments about funding Ostankino, but this has not happened. What is more, the company has a debt of 300 million foreign currency rubles looming over it.

So, the television company has formulated a concept for reorganizing the television that serves the CIS. Yakovlev gave a letter to Yeltsin and Khasbulatov 4 February and also to the presidents of the other republics saying that, if a new budget is not produced, "Ostankino may cease to broadcast the First Program and Mayak Radio in March."

As a result of the meeting the speaker was "firmly convinced" that Ostankino is vitally necessary for all members of the Commonwealth and there can be no question of "not supporting the company's development. If for some reason the president does not settle the matter, the Supreme Soviet, which funds all activity, the president included, will take on the decision."

Vladimir Makoveyev, general director of the technical board, was one of the last to speak. He said that all countries' state television companies are funded by a subscription fee paid by every owner of a television and radio. In response to this Khasbulatov said that the question of a subscription fee would be raised in parliament "immediately."

Specialists point out that if Boris Yeltsin does not settle the question of the Commonwealth states' share in funding Ostankino in Minsk 14 February, the only way to save it will be to sell off extensive stock in [shirokoye auktsionirovaniye] the company to involve private capital.

Russian Germans To Join Congress Mar 20

LD1202183892 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—Russian Germans will join in congress in Moscow on March 20 to discuss the future of their national movement in the changing political conditions in Russia, TASS learned on Wednesday [12 February] from the leadership of the Interstate Council for the Rehabilitation of Germans of the Former USSR.

The German statehood in the Volga region will be the main topic of discussions.

The pronouncements of Russian President Boris Yeltsin during his trip to Saratov "leave no guarantees for the national future of the Germans", the leadership of the council believes.

The problem of uniting all Germans throughout the former Soviet Union will be also raised at the congress.

Government Meets on First Month Reform Results

Burbulis Views Results

OW1302214392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Government held a meeting chaired by Boris Yeltsin in Moscow Thursday [13 February].

Commenting on its results in an exclusive interview for IF [INTERFAX], Russia's Deputy Premier Gennadiy Burbulis said that the Cabinet had confirmed its commitment to reforms and outlined adjustments to them. "We are not going to retreat, but in order to launch an offensive, one should carry out reconnaissance from time to time," Burbulis said.

He pointed out that a presidential decree or some other new document on adjustments to reforms concerning taxation, price formation, credits and economic links would be adopted soon. He added that another four documents on social protection would also be endorsed in the near future. A special document would be issued following discussion of the agrarian reform.

Addressing Yeltsin's decision to put Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy in charge of the agricultural reform, Burbulis said that "Aleksandr Rutskoy's strong desire to take part in our work can find an application in that sphere." In this connection, the vice-premier expressed the hope that orientation towards farmers will be intensified taking into account that "the vice-president has both an interest and certain experience in that."

'Corrective to Reforms' Expected

OW1302193392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1858 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The path from a command economy to a market economy will take a minimum of some years, Yegor Gaydar, vice prime minister of the Russian Government stated in an interview on Thursday [13 February] with "INTERFAX." This, in his opinion, does not contradict Russian President Yeltsin's promise made in the fall of 1991 to improve the situation in the country by the fall of 1992. "This meant that we would solve some of the problems by the fall," the vice prime minister noted. "The president never promised anyone to build a bright future with no problems and worries by the fall."

In the near future, an order by the Russian president or a similar document will be approved, which contains a corrective to reforms in main sectors such as taxation, prices, credits, and guaranteeing business ties. First deputy chairman of the Russian Government, Gennady Burbulis, stated this in an exclusive interview with "INTERFAX" on Thursday, after the end of the Russian Government session. "We are not planning on retreating," Burbulis said, "but in order to go forwards, we have to reconniter [word as received] from time to time."

Economic Adviser Cited

LD1302175692 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Excerpts] A regular meeting of the Russian Federation Government was held today. It was chaired by President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. Under consideration were the results of the first month of economic reform and price liberalization as well as the government's further measures in this direction. The government also discussed the progress of land reform and some additional measures for the social protection of the population.

Speaking at a news conference on the results of the meeting, the government's economic adviser Aleskey Ulyukayev said that the situation is improving faster than anticipated. Prices are not expected to rise any further, although the government intends to remove price restrictions for some goods. As for any additional social measures for the protection of the population, they will be geared toward improving the position of pensioners. [passage omitted]

Aleksey Ulyukayev also said that the government is monitoring the economic situation and pointed out that there will be a further fall in output in the first six months of this year. This results from a decline in investments, credit restrictions, disruption of economic links, and a shortfall in the supply of imported goods. The government is firmly relying on a slowdown in the fall of output and on the ending of this process by the end of this year.

In reply to a question by a journalist, Aleksey Ulyukayev said that the word resignation was not mentioned once during the meeting. President Boris Yeltsin noted again that he is yet to work with the government as one team for a long period.

Vodka, Bread Prices To Be Freed

OW1302210192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Alexey Ulyukayev, economic adviser to the Russian Government, told a Moscow news conference on Thursday

[13 February] that the government is planning to free the prices of vodka and bread as of April. He noted that the authorities had been reluctant to make such a step because "it's a political question, rather than an economic one," but that economic considerations were obviously beginning to triumph over political interests.

Ulyukayev explained that the vodka producers were now compelled to buy grain at market prices—6-10 thousand rubles per ton. The government was planning to use imported grain for the purpose, buying it at 1,200 rubles per ton. "That will be a kind of subsidy," the economist observed.

As a result, the price of vodka would double, and that of bread would increase by 150 percent.

A. Ulyukayev said the government agreed in principle to free the price of coal, including coking coal. At the same time, it was ready to purchase coaking coals abroad. It would obviously have, in the end, to liberalize oil prices too, a measure thoroughly recommended by IMF experts. That, according to Ulyukayev, would be likely to take place by the year's end.

Commenting on the government's finance policy, the economic adviser said the printing of money had decreased by 30 percent against December's rate. If the trend persisted, the government would be ready to reduce profit tax—but not until monthly inflation could be kept under the 10-percent plank.

Price Growth Will Slow Down

LD1402101992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 0934 GMT 14 Feb 92

[From the "Domestic" section]

[Text] Moscow—Aleksey Ulyukayev, the Russian Government's economic adviser, says neither the government nor the public expects another dramatic price jump. On February 13, Ulyukayev told a press conference that private deposit accounts at the republic's savings banks had increased up to 8 billion rubles and that it became easier to obtain credits at commercial banks at an annual interest rate of 35-40 percent. In January, the price index increased 3.5-fold (by 250 percent) compared to December. Overall, the government had expected a more negative economic situation.

Ulyukayev pointed out that in April, the prices of bread, milk, vodka, sugar and vegetable oil will be liberalized. It is expected that the price of bread will then increase 2.5-fold and the price of vodka will double. There are also plans to decontrol coal prices.

Ulyukayev has described the current financial situation as relatively favorable. In the last half of January, budget revenues have reached the planned levels (60 billion rubles, or 21 percent of the quarterly revenues). Revenues from profit taxes have even exceeded estimated levels. Overall, January expenditures have been at average quarterly levels. According to Ulyukayev, the exchange rate of the ruble is now stable and in February, it is even expected to rise. Up until now the government has not resorted to hard- currency interventions, but they are planned in future. The Central Bank of Russia intends to raise credit rates.

In January, money issue has dropped by 30 percent compared to December. In the current month, there are plans to conclude an agreement with the International Monetary Fund on guaranteed financial assistance for the creation of the country's stabilization fund. It is expected that by the end of the second quarter the monthly rate of inflation will drop to 1.5 percent. When the rate of inflation reaches 10 percent [as received], the government intends to reduce taxes.

Ulyukayev pointed out that in the second half of the year the application of foreign trade licenses and quotas will be drastically limited. The government has decided to make lump payments of 200 rubles to the pensioners in February and March to cushion them against price rises and inflation. Civil servants salaries will increase 2.8-fold. The government estimates that production slump will continue throughout the current year. In January it reached 15 percent (compared to January 1991 and 4-5 percent compared to December 1991). Towards the end of the year, the economic slump is expected to stop.

Ulyukayev negatively assessed the proposals made by coal miners whereby coal should be bartered for metal. Metal shortages are to be eliminated by the end of the second quarter. At present, approximately 40 percent of rural enterprises have been reorganized with only 10 percent of state and collective farms wishing to preserve their current ownership property status.

Statistics Chief Cited on Production

LD1302223392 Moscow TASS in English 2138 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alexander Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—The downturn in industrial production in Russia continued in this year, Pavel Guzhvin, chairman of the Russian Federation's State Committee for Statistics, told a news conference here on Thursday [13 February] in comment on the results of Russia's socio-economic development in 1991 and in January 1992.

Guzhvin believes that forecasts about the development of the reform process and the movement of prices were confirmed, in the main. He said goods turnover in January this year decreased by 63 per cent as compared with the January of 1991. The composite index of consumer prices is tentatively about 350 per cent. The average index of food prices in January was 396 per cent and that of non-food items—250 per cent, and charges for services of all types, including rent—230 per cent.

Touching upon the index of wholesale prices in January, Guzhvin described it as growing five-fold. The largest

increase was observed in non-ferrous metallurgy and petro-chemistry. In the tyre industry, the wholesale price of output grew 23.6 times over.

Speaking of processes brought on by the liberalisation of prices in material production, Guzhvin pointed out that oil production declined by 14 per cent in January. However, there was no considerable reduction in output at oil-processing plants.

According to the statistics chief, "January saw most negative trends in agricultural machinery building—the manufacture of tractors and harvesters". Apart from ordinary causes (the shortage of raw materials and components), the situation had been adversly affected by the decline in the customers' effective demand.

Gaydar Comments on Favorable Economic Trends

LD1302210192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Interview with Yegor Gaydar, deputy prime minister for economic affairs, by correspondent V. Stepanyuk on 13 February; place not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Stepanyuk] The country has been living in conditions of free prices for six weeks. Should economic reforms be amended? Will Russia introduce its own currency? Why is agrarian reform so difficult? What will be done to protect low-income people in the near future? These questons were among the main ones asked at today's government session and in our conversation with Yegor Gaydar.

[Gaydar] Speaking about fundamental issues of financial stabilization and implementation of market mechanisms in general, events are following an optimistic scenario. We have managed to markedly strengthen the position of the ruble in the internal market, in the currency market. The dollar rate has shown a tendency to drop. Demand for money has sharply increased here and in neighboring states, the former Union republics. The ruble is gradually becoming a real means for regulating market relations.

Having discussed these initial results today, we came to a firm conclusion that the current Union ruble should and must be stabilized, that in no case can we today raise the issue of any republican currency of our own. Foreign experts are quite satisfied with the fact that we have managed to avoid a sharp drop in demand for money, a large-scale withdrawal of money deposits and their issuing onto the market. This is a most important factor which makes it possible to stabilize the situation today. It shows that confidence in the ruble has not yet been undermined.

At the same time, an agreement was reached on paying special attention in credit policy to giving credits to farm holdings, conversion programs, and providing fuel for the sowing campaign. There were proposals—draft documents were discussed—aimed at giving additional compensations to the least well-paid and the most socially vulnerable categories of labor in February and March. This issue requires agreement by the Supreme Soviet since this is a question of the budget, primarily of the pension fund, which is the main source of many social payments. We hope to find mutual understanding here.

Gaydar Cites Optimistic Trends in Ruble

LD1302204592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Report on 13 February Russian Federation Government session by correspondent V. Skvortsov, including recorded comment by Yegor Gaydar, Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Skvortsov] At a sort of jubilee session of the Russian Government—it has been 100 days since the reform cabinet was formed—the first results of economic reform were summed up, as could be expected at a jubilee.

[Gaydar] Right now, thing are moving in an optimistic way. We have already been able to considerably strengthen the position of the ruble on the domestic market. The ruble is gradually becoming a reliable means of regulating market relations.

[Skvortsov] After that, journalists heard that a relaxation of the credit policy for farmers and converted enterprises and a reduction in taxes for mediatory activity are anticipated, although the old policy is on the whole being maintained.

[Gaydar] A tough credit policy is an absolutely necessary precondition at the moment in order to prevent further spirals of inflation.

[Skvortsov] In the field of social policy, compensation for less well-off sections of the population for February-March is expected.

Consumer Price Rises Fail To Increase Supplies

MK1402094492 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Feb 92 p 2

[Yelena Kolokoltseva report: "Reform: New Year Prices. Everything Could Have Been Far Worse"]

[Text] The Russian State Committee for Statistics has summed up the results of price liberalization on the consumer market. According to preliminary calculations, consumer prices in January rose overall by a factor of 3-3.5 in comparison with December 1991, while prices of nonfood commodities rose 2.5 times.

Regulated prices in Russia of such products as bread, milk, kefir, and sugar were mainly at maximum level. As expected, there was virtually no increase in prices on the

kolkhoz market, with the exception of the prices of scarce commodities (butter).

Unlike at the beginning of the reform, a "liberalized" range of goods—washing machines, electric vacuum cleaners, and refrigerators—appeared in state trade outlets. However, prices of these products rose by a factor of 16-17. Despite the quadrupling in price, the production and supply of medical preparations are still extremely acute. A number of other essential commodities—baby food, for instance—are still in short supply.

The continuing drop in production arouses particular concern. Thus, in January production of basic light-industry commodities declined 11-20 percent. It should be borne in mind that, according to experts' forecasts, enterprises are to experience the main post-liberalization shock in the period February-March 1992, so these are undoubtedly only the first signs of it.

As NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA predicted, budget formation has encountered considerable difficulties. On the one hand, according to State Taxation Service data, 60.5 billion rubles were mobilized into the budget in January, which represents an increase of 4.1 times on the same period in 1991. On the other hand, everyone is aware that our statistics somehow forget about inflation; therefore these figures by no means arouse excessive optimism. What is more, receipts from value added tax in January were only 25 percent of the envisaged sum. A similar situation has also developed with excise duty.

All this undoubtedly casts doubt on the possibility of steadily reducing the budget deficit and once again raises the question of the effectiveness of the budget formation.

Economist Urges Faster Privatization Progress

MK1402100292 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 14 Feb 92 p 1

["Interview with the Edition" with economist Pavel Bunich by Zhanna Shanurova; place and date not given: "Burden of Your Own Choosing No Burden"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The government has finally taken the initial step toward privatizing the people's property. But is this stabilizing the situation? Here is what the well-known economist Pavel Bunich said when asked this question:

[Bunich] Since a program has emerged, it is possible to act without violating the laws and engaging in arbitrary activity. Second, the prohibited list of property that must remain in state ownership has been reduced and, thank God, is not that long. Third, the idea of privatization free of charge is predominant in the program. Not entirely—no one has said that.

This year the program indicates that a large proportion of the property that can be sold will be privatized.

We may have to endure privatization free of charge for about another year. It is more important now to pump money out of commodity turnover since the revenue from the sale of commodities at high prices goes back to enterprises and becomes wages. This money is not removed, but continues to circulate. While money from the sale of property can, figuratively speaking, be thrown on the fire, thus reducing the money mass.

However, the program also contains dubious elements. In my view too many privileges have been given to enterprises' labor collectives. And the worse things are for us? Privatization must be for the whole population.

Second [as published]: All privatization has been spun out for three years. I think that is a long time. It does not sound convincing enough when we are told that it should not be a minute less. I am sure that many people who have gotten a good idea of their potential would agree to becoming real masters a little sooner. Why hold back a good impulse? Everyone must be geared to ensuring that the privatization figure set for this year is exceeded by a factor of 1.5-2. Then we will really have reduced the time frame and approach the finishing line in two years rather than three.

Railways Minister Holds Press Conference

PM1302125592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 1

[Report by Stanislav Oganyan: "We Must Travel Less!"]

[Text] Yesterday at the Russian Government press center there was a meeting with G. Fadeyev, Russian Federation Minister of Railways. He cited several figures describing the state of railroads in the Russian Federation.

They occupy 59 percent of the length of the network of the former Union and carry out 68 percent of all freight shipments and 65 percent of all passenger shipments. Russian railroads transport 60 percent of petroleum and petroleum products, 90 percent of timber products, and over half the coal, mineral fertilizers, and ferrous metals of the former Union. Today Russia transports more passengers than in the United States, Britain, France, and the FRG taken together and five times more than for the whole of Europe.

In the forthcoming year the revenue of the Russian railroad will exceed expenditure by 40 billion rubles [R]. To switch to cost recovery, the minister said, the Ministry of Railways must find about R10 billion more somewhere. New tariffs could be one source of additional finance. He explains the increase in tariffs by the fact that in recent years the cost of a car has increased by a factor of 50, the cost of an electric locomotive has increased by a factor of 30, and imported passenger cars have increased in cost by a factor of 20.

On average tariffs for freight shipments will increase 730 percent and for passenger shipments 200 percent compared with the 1991 level. Answering a question about the problem of thefts in rail transport, he stated that the ministry is prepared to bear responsibility for them but a

lot depends on the freight shippers. He cited the following figures. In 1950 there were 120,000 paramilitary armed guards working on the railroad but 40 years later there are 30,000 of them left yet shipment volumes have increased many times over.

The problem of the Baykal-Amur railroad. This recently great Communist Youth League construction site should live, the minister believes. For that substantial foreign investments will be needed and, the minister stressed, this question should be one element of Yeltsin's talks during his fall trip to Japan.

Businessman Explains Opposition to Reform

PM1202172592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 92 pp 1-2

[Interview with Candidate of Economic Sciences V.M. Smirnov, general director of the "Eksinter" Cooperative, by Georgiy Ovcharenko under the "Unexpected Topic" rubric; place, date not given: "Entrepreneurs Move to Opposition"]

[Text] Hardly anyone now could answer the classical author's question: Who can live well in Rus? The January price liberalization put 80 percent of Russians below the poverty line at a stroke. The opinion has formed in the minds of many people that only the newly appeared homegrown entrepreneurs are pleased with the Russian reforms. Suddenly the editorial office received an unexpected telephone call:

"Could PRAVDA report on the extraordinary congress of Russian entrepreneurs, one of whose aims is to form a constructive political opposition to the government cabinet?"

So I met with Candidate of Economic Sciences Valeriy Smirnov, general director of the "Eksinter" Cooperative and member of the organizing committee to convene the congress.

"More and more Russian entrepreneurs," he said, "are reaching the conclusion that their hopes for the country's democratic development, which is the chief guarantee of the survival and growth of Russian business, are not being vindicated. The Russian Government is gambling on deepening the split in a unified country which has a history going back many centuries, because it sees the split as the legal basis for its own power. Its actions in the economy are determined by precisely this political factor. Hence the catastrophic destruction of the country's industrial potential as a consequence of the severance or extreme difficultry of economic ties. The profound industrial crisis is complicating private enterprise and making it almost impossible in practice for independent entrepreneurs to operate in the production sphere."

[Ovcharenko] But we are assured that the reforms, particularly the price liberalization, privatization, and free trade, are aimed precisely at developing enterprise....

[Smirnov] I would put it differently. At this moment the reforms are contributing not to truly entrepreneurial activity, which is based on increasing production of goods and services, but to speculation and corruption. Few people are investing money in production today, but on the other hand very many are making money out of reselling what has already been produced. People are beginning to realize this—entrepreneurs, above all. For the sharp growth in social tension in society caused by the Russian Government's shortsighted policy, and the impoverishment of broad sections of the population are leading to a reduction of the domestic consumer market, slowing the development of the spheres of private enterprise that already exist.

[Ovcharenko] In other words, entrepreneurs are losing their sales market under these conditions?

[Smirnov] Quite true. Of course, it is possible to make money out of thin air—believe me, this is not difficult—and disappear from the country along with capital. But most entrepreneurs are former engineers and scientists who are concerned, above all, about the country and its production potential and who are seeking to develop it on a private enterprise basis. Understand me, an entrepreneur cannot live well if the people live badly—otherwise there is no one for him to work for.

[Ovcharenko] Nevertheless, somehow there are not many Russian businessmen today who are seeking to invest free capital in the development of production.

[Smirnov] But there cannot be a lot of them. Remember: They offered us the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] instead of the USSR, promising a single economic area and a single ruble zone in which private enterprise would develop freely. In actual fact, what we have got is not a commonwealth of democratic rule-of-law states but some colonial fragments of a country in which everyone who wants to can dictate his own terms to an entrepreneur.

[Ovcharenko] But you will agree that the CIS is a reality that has to be reckoned with....

[Smirnov] In my view, pardon me, the CIS is a bluff. First, in a democratic society one country cannot fall apart and new states be created by the will of three people. That is illegal and anticonstitutional. Second, the creation of the CIS is an illusory attempt by the former state and partyocracy to remain at the feeding trough of power. If not on the scale of the USSR, then at least in their own sovereign principality. Their thoughts are of this alone, not of the market economy, still less the people's interests.

[Ovcharenko] Let us return to our topic, Valeriy Marksovich. In what way do the Russian Government's political and economic reforms not suit entrepreneurs?

[Smirnov] In that they are doomed to failure. For example, the attempts to patch the budget holes caused

by the collapse of the country's economy as a consequence of the government's policy are driving it into a still bigger impasse: The steep growth in taxes, which actually reach 50-60 percent of profits, makes investments in production unprofitable. Second, the current privatization is virtually aimed not at increasing the class of owners but at transferring ownership of property belonging to the whole people to the present leaders of state structures, enabling them to turn into "capitalists" at a stroke, without a change of office.

Further. The pursuit of hard currency is leading Russian entrepreneurs to become strangers in their own homeland: Having no opportunity to earn hard currency in amounts enabling them to compete with foreign investors, they are being virtually squeezed out of the Russian market for property, which is being hastily sold to foreign purchasers. Russia could turn into a new colonial Third World continent.

Therefore Russian entrepreneurs, conscious of their share of responsibility to the country for its future, have decided to gather for an extraordinary congress with a view to drawing up a program of joint actions and forming a political opposition to the government. Its goal must be to explain entrepreneurs' position with regard to the government's measures, to put forward a constructive alternative, and to take joint actions to implement it, including in conjunction with other opposition movements.

[Ovcharenko] Incidentally, if we have started talking of cooperation with other opposition movements, what is your attitude to the march on our "White House" announced for 9 February? Are you not afraid that there could be a clash whose consequences cannot be predicted unambiguously?

[Smirnov] No. If I am in Moscow, I will be among those marching on the "White House," not among its defenders. I do not believe that the Yeltsin-Gaydar government will fall on that day, although every hour that it stays in power means additional months to restore the devastated economy, to really develop private enterprise, and to raise people's living standards. But 9 February could be the day to consolidate healthy forces. Moreover, we simply do not have any other way to express ourselves or to make our will known today, just as several years ago. As long ago as last October they were speaking of new elections to parliament and of other constitutional methods of political struggle—today all this has been shelved by officials. They are simply making people live and act the way the government likes. Take these reforms, for example....

[Ovcharenko] Pardon me for interrupting: By whom, in your view, are the reforms underpinned? Quite honestly, I thought they were supported by entrepreneurs....

[Smirnov] No, and again no. Just as, for the reasons I have already mentioned, workers and peasants and the scientific and creative intelligentsia simply cannot support them. The present reforms are supported only by quasi-state [okologosudarstvennyy] structures, which would like to turn the property of the whole people into their own property. But this too is understood in society, whose consciousness has changed greatly over the past year.

Like the whole of society, we advocate radical reforms, but what we have actually been offered—the country's disintegration and, as a result, its catastrophic impoverishment and the stifling of democracy by the turncoat state apparatus—is totally out of line with what we were counting on in the post-August period. Therefore I am sure that those who went yesterday on a sincere impulse to defend the "White House" will not today become cadets defending Moscow's "Winter Palace."

[Ovcharenko] But what do entrepreneurs propose in the present situation, what is their position?

[Smirnov] The common position of entrepreneurs is to create equal starting conditions for all the country's citizens wishing to engage in their own business. For this they must have a real right to their own share of the property of the whole people and have equal rights in respect of collective and state farms. At the same time we believe that the existing monopolist structure of the national economy will require during a considerable transitional period state management or regulation aimed at its normal functioning and phased demonopolization. This requires competent management....

[Ovcharenko] ...which must be a matter for entrepreneurs? To this end, will there be an attempt at your congress to create a political opposition of entrepreneurs, who must subsequently accede to power?

[Smirnov] In general outline—yes. But accede to power only by legitimate, democratic, parliamentary means. You will agree that they need this not in order to verify economic theories, as is happening now. New leaders are needed. Those who want to live well themselves cannot if the rest of the people live badly. These are entrepreneurs, above all. But first, I believe, we need a constituent assembly which must resolve questions of the country's statehood and political structure openly with representatives of all parties and movements. The next steps are to adopt a constitution, elect constitutional organs of management, and then resolve all the problems caused by the country's political structure, including problems of private ownership.

[Ovcharenko] So, when and where will the constituent congress of entrepreneurs intending to form an opposition to the Russian Government take place?

[Smirnov] In St. Petersburg 7 February. The contact telephone numbers are 113-13-84, 113-30-37, and 312-80-97. Incidentally, you should not conclude from our conversation that the results of the congress have been decided in advance. I have been expressing only my personal opinion. I believe that there will be a big debate on these questions at the congress itself.

[Ovcharenko] Well, may the debate be fruitful and for the good of the homeland and people....

Supreme Soviet

Kozyrev Presents Sino-Soviet Border Treaty

LD1302224392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1733 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Report by Foreign Minister Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev to the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 13 February; from the "At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Session" program—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed president, esteemed Ruslan Imranovich [Khasbulatov], people's deputies! The agreement between the USSR and the PRC on the eastern section of the Sino-Soviet border, which is being tabled today, is the result of many years of negotiations with China conducted, with intervals, since 1964. The final stage of the talks embraces the period from 1987 to 1991. For the first time virtually the entire course of the border between Russia and China is being accurately defined in this agreement. The border between Russia and China, which stretches from Mongolia to the DPRK along the borders of Chita and Amur Oblasts and Khabarovsk and Maritime Krays, is about 4,300 km long. Of these 3,700 km follow the course of border rivers. The remaining 600 km are on land.

I wish to stress that the agreement does not envisage any change in the current line of the land border. The river border, on the other hand, has been the constant focus of attention at talks which often ended without results. The reason for this is explained in the background information on the history of the dispute, beginning with the Russo-Chinese treaties of the last century. In its approach to the river demarcation the Soviet side relied on a principle which is generally recognized in international law. This is, in fact, the foundation on which the agreement being tabled today is based. In accordance with this principle, river borders are basically recognized as following the mid-point of the main navigation channel, on navigable rivers, or the mid-point of the river on unnavigable rivers. Under this agreement, Russia will have over half of all the 1,845 islands on border rivers. This applies both to the number of islands and to their combined area. The islands on the Chinese side of the mid-point of the navigation channel, which will be China's under the agreement, are not settled, are not developed and are virtually without economic significance.

The agreement, on the whole, does not envisage any territorial concessions. For the first time it accurately reflects the actual course of the Russo-Chinese border. So far it has not been possible to agree on ownership of the Bolshoy Ussuriyskiy and Tarabarovskiy islands in the region of Khabarovsk. Their overall area is 350 square km., the same applies to Bolshoy Island in the upper reaches of the Argun River, whose area is 58 square km..

The sides decided not to delay the signing of the agreement, which defines the border along almost 4,300 km, as I have already said, and signed it with the intention of continuing the talks on those two segments.

Until the talks are completed, the status quo will be retained on these islands, i.e. they will remain under our jurisdiction. During the negotiations with China the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and representatives of border troops kept in touch with the local administration of the krays and oblasts which have an interest in this matter.

In our view, the agreement which is being presented is in the Russian Federation's interests. I would like to stress that the implementation of this agreement will be an important event in relations between Russia and China. It will be a tangible result of the normalization of relations between our countries, a symbol of their new quality. A final settlement of the border question will open up the most favorable prospects for the development of economic ties between Russia and China, especially in border districts. It will also facilitate the strengthening of stability and security in the all of the Far East and in Asia.

Esteemed people's deputies, I wish to draw your attention to one fine point. The agreement was signed on 16 May 1991 in Moscow by the foreign ministers of the USSR and the PRC. In accordance with Article 10, it must be ratified by the supreme legislatures of the two countries. On 26 November 1991, the agreement was approved by the Supreme Soviet's Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Ties. On 10 February, it was recommended for ratification by the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium. We are informed that the PRC parliament also intends to ratify this agreement at its next session, which is scheduled for the end of February this year. The Russian and Chinese sides have reached an understanding that the agreement will be ratified in its current form, without any change in its title. The sides were guided in this by the fact that the Russian Federation continues to exercise the rights and fulfil the commitments stemming from international treaties concluded by the former USSR. They also took account of the fact that the entire the eastern section of the Sino-Soviet border, dealt with in the agreement, follows Russia's own border.

In view of this we ask the Supreme Soviet to ratify the agreement between the USSR and the PRC on the eastern section of the Sino-Soviet border.

Border Agreement Ratified

LD1302120792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1045 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 13 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet today ratified the agreement between the USSR and PRC on the eastern section of the Soviet-Chinese state border. The agreement was signed in May 1991 in Moscow. [passage omitted]

Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Ties, who gave a supplementary report, noted that the agreement on the border issue reflects the interests of Russia, and that it "is exceptionally beneficial for us."

It has taken the neighboring countries many years to reach these accords. The agreement clarifies for the first time the course of virtually the whole of the Russian-Chinese border, which comprises some 4,300 km; what is more, 3,700 km of the border runs along rivers. It is important to note that the agreement does not stipulate a change to the present line of the land border.

Demarcation along rivers was the focus of the talks, as noted during the debates. Now the water section of the border runs along the fairway of navigable rivers and along the middle of non-navigable rivers. Of the 1,845 islands in rivers, more than half, both in number and in area, belong to Russia. "We have made no territorial concessions at all," stated Andrey Kozyrev, noting moreover that there was a failure to reach agreement on two islands in the region of Khabarskaya and Argun, and that for the meantime they remain under Russian jurisdiction.

Parliament Holds Joint Chambers Session

LD1402122192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Feb 92

["Novosti" report by correspondent V. Tsygankov]

[Text] The Russian Supreme Soviet is holding a joint session of chambers today.

[Tsygankov] A certain friction between the executive and legislative powers was again evident today when the Russian parliament began discussing additional questions to be included in the agenda of the session. Many actions of the Mossovet and even of the government of the republic, the deputies are saying, run counter to the decisions and laws the Supreme Soviet is adopting. Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov noted that the instructions and requests of the Supreme Soviet given to the government are simply not being examined by it and are being ignored. It was decided to discuss all these questions again together with members of the government at the next plenary session.

Then the parliament moved on to the examination of a draft law on introducing changes and additions to the Russian Federation law on payment for land. Today, at a second reading, as is known, it was preceded by long, stormy, and pointed discussion.

The parliament is today discussing amendments to this document which have been proposed by the Conciliation Commission.

Deputy Outlines CIS Speakers' Council Tasks

MK1302150592 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Feb 92 p 3

[Interview with Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Unified Legal Base Needed"]

[Text] [ROSSIYA] You took part in the work of the conference of representatives of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries' parliaments 24 January in Minsk, which adopted the decision to create a Council of Supreme Soviet chairmen. What are this organ's main tasks?

[Filatov] As a result of the breakup of the Union, its subjects have lost their unified legal base. In this connection, it is necessary to coordinate parliaments' legislative activity in areas that the independent states have ascribed to joint jurisdiction: the economy, ecology, migration policy, defense of human rights, and the fight against organized crime.

The Council of Supreme Soviet chairmen will consider documents prepared at the January meeting 26-27 February. Among them:

—an agreement on coordinating activity to formulate legal norms within the Commonwealth states. The council of parliamentary leaders is to be the main coordinating organ here;
—an agreement on the Council of CIS Heads;
—an agreement on harmonizing [sblizheniye] legislative acts in the economic sphere. The specific nature of our industry and its supreme degree of integration make it impossible to resolve economic problems solely within the framework of a single Commonwealth state. Therefore questions pertaining to enterprise, ownership, privatization, land reform, hard currency, and bankruptcy require CIS members to coordinate their actions to the maximum;
—an agreement on bilateral or multilateral interstate relations to defend citizens' rights. Since many members of the Commonwealth have abrogated USSR legislation, the rights of one state's citizens on another's territory with regard to housing, citizenship, and pension provision remain vague;
—an agreement to organize the work of coordinating organs—the council of parliamentary leaders and interparliamentary commissions. The proposal to set up an interparliamentary assembly structured on the European model aroused great interest, for instance. The assembly is designed to be a consultative body to formulate common decisions, and every state will be entitled to adopt its recommendations with consideration given to the specific nature of its own state structure;

—an agreement on information exchange among the parliaments. Laws, plans, and decisions adopted by every CIS member state's legislative organs must become the property of the entire Commonwealth. Efficient telecommunication links will enable everyone to avail themselves of parliaments' libraries and archives and foreign funds.

The council of parliamentary leaders will meet regularly.

Putsch Inquiry Commission Chief Interviewed

PM1202162592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Lev Ponomarev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission Investigating the Causes and Circumstances of the August Coup, conducted by Sergey Chugayev; place and date not given: "The Russian Special Services Remain Without a Law and Highly Dangerous"—first two paragraphs and final paragraph are journalist's introduction and IZVESTIYA editorial note]

[Text] The 4 February hearings in the Russian parliament on the role played by the former USSR's services of repression in organizing and carrying out the August putsch produced a pretty ambiguous impression. On the one hand, the official conclusion of the state's supreme legislative organ that the USSR KGB along with the CPSU was the chief ideologues and organizers of the attempted coup d'etat is, for all its lack of sensationalism today, still a necessary one. However, there is also an abiding sense of the impotence of power in the face of this monster, which apparently remains, under any regime, invulnerable, living its own life, according to its own laws.

The following question arises: For what have the numerous commissions investigating KGB activity worked? We decided to put this to Lev Ponomarev, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidim Commission Investigating the Causes and Circumstances of the August Coup, starting our conversation on the problems of ensuring public control over the special services' activity.

[Ponomarev] I am not at all inclined to see the results of our commission's activity as a failure. On the contrary, I consider that we achieved our objective. We were faced with the task of studying the causes and the circumstances of the attempted coup and submitting proposals on changing legislation and state structures which would provide utmost safeguards for our society against any repeat of the August events. Therein lies the difference between our commission's objectives and those of others. We, for example, studied documents, while members of the Union parliament commission headed by Aleksandr Obolenskiy paid greater attention to conversations with KGB staffers. Incidentally, very skilled cadres worked in that commission, and important and interesting material was gathered. However, we, unfortunately, were unable to make use of it. Obolenskiy kept his commission strictly secret from the very outset. When, however, it became clear that he was not destined to become the main hero of the upcoming hearings, he left Moscow and failed to execute the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium's instruction to put the commission's archive at our disposal.

The members of our commission were perhaps the first "ordinary" people to obtain access to the CPSU Central Committee and KGB archives. We even managed to get to Mikhail Gorbachev's archive immediately after the collapse of the USSR. It contains very important documents, but, unfortunately, that archive is now under the control of the leader of the Russian president's administration, Yuriy Petrov, and access is not possible.

Strictly speaking, the causes of the attempted coup are clear to everyone: Namely, the totalitarian nature of state power in the USSR, and the usurpation of power by an ideological structure—the Communist Party. And the material which we studied convincingly bears this out.

Our primary and chief conclusion is that to change the totalitarian nature of the state you should first and foremost make changes to the Constitution and complete the judicial reform—creating the legal foundations of a democratic state.

[Chugayev] That does not sound very original.

[Ponomarev] Yes, many people do describe such a conclusion as banal. But some say that, I think, without understanding in depth what lies behind it; while others, on the contrary, do so, fully aware of the kind of threat posed to them personally if the proposals are implemented. After all, the discussion about the need for the strictest parliamentary and judicial control over the organs of repression is ultimately similarly banal. However, six months have now elapsed, and we have no control, nor legal foundation. I think that we largely owe such a situation to a lack of political resolve on the part of the Supreme Soviet leadership. If Khasbulatov, for example, had firmly stated that parliament must control the special services, I do not think that such an absurd situation would have arisen whereby deputies wonder whether their telephones are being tapped or not. Recently, on the instruction of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, a commission to verify appointments to top leadership posts was set up, but this was done, as far as I am aware, only because relations between Barannikov and Khasbulatov had deteriorated.

[Chugayev] It is well known that members of your commission were hampered in their work in the archives, that documents were destroyed, and that in the end those who had actually issued those instructions simply remained unknown, is that not so?

[Ponomarev] The problem here clearly also lies in the fact that from the outset our commission's powers were not clearly designated. Therefore to obtain access to archives—the CPSU Central Committee and KGB

archives—we had to write letters and obtain authorization. But once they had breached this wall, our experts were able to work in the early stages. They were not helped, but neither were they hindered. Recently, however, when certain results of our labors became known, we did start feeling mounting resistance from the Russian Security Ministry leadership. Our experts have been denied access to the archive at Lubyanka several times. The warrant officer at the entrance states that he has received an order not to let us in. From whom? Naturally, it is impossible to find out. After we tried to gain access to the First Main Directorate archives, Yevgeniy Primakov himself came to the White House and sidestepped the whole Supreme Soviet leadership. As a result those archives have simply remained inaccessible to us.

[Chugayev] At the parliamentary hearings he stated that staffers of the foreign intelligence service were not involved in organizing the putsch and did not engage in shadowing Soviet cvitizens and that the First Main Directorate archives contained no documents all of interest to your commission...

[Ponomarev] Once our experts found in the archive at Lubyanka a First Main Directorate document containing instructions on how the behavior of USSR and Russian people's deputies abroad should be studied. Whose money they live on, whom they meet, where they go, and so forth. This document, moreover, had notes written on it in Gorbachev's own hand. The next day the document vanished without trace. The experts were later able to get hold of a copy of it, but now without Gorbachev's notes.

We have information that the First Main Directorate, from at least December 1990 through August 1991, carried out assignments to discredit political parties and movements opposed to the CPSU and discredit Russian leaders. In particular, a series of suitable articles appeared in the foreign press. We have the testimony of people who were engaged in this work and there are copies of the reports of First Main Directorate agents who shadowed Russian deputies. In short, there are grounds for requesting access to the foreign intelligence service's archives, but not, however, to that part of them containing information which really does constitute a state secret. However, Yevgeniy Primakov deemed it possible to deny us, and the Supreme Soviet Presidium did not support us. Moreover, on Khasbulatov's initiative, our commission ceases to operate on 14 February.

[Chugayev] Are we to understand, then, that the chief result of your commission's work was the actual parliamentary hearings, where the leading role of the KGB in the putsch was stated? And that's all?

[Ponomarev] No, that is not all. We intend to report on the results of our commission's work to a session of parliament so that a resolution may be adopted. That resolution will contain proposals regarding with what to fill the legal vacuum in which the special services currently operate. After all, such a situation not only creates a danger to society, but also hampers the work of the actual state security staffers, the majority of whom are honest people. The blueprint for security has been examined at first reading, the second reading will not take place before the fall. We cannot wait so long. We have therefore put forward the proposal that appropriate Russian presidential decrees regulating the special services' activity be issued pending the adoption of laws. I think that we will find support.

Among the legislative acts, we wish to propose that a disqualification law be passed which would prevent people who had cooperated wih the KGB in the past from being appointed to high office.

[Chugayev] But it is said that it is technically impossible today to identify agents of the former KGB. Part of the archives has been destroyed and documents enciphered.

[Ponomarev] That is not so. There is an intact file listing the names of all agents throughout the time the Soviet organs of repression have existed. It is therefore, for example, no problem identifying which Russian deputies are KGB staffers. All that is needed is an appropriate law. We are not, of course, launching a large-scale "witch hunt."

Faction Says Republics Insist on Union Treaty

OW1202195192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1846 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The overwhelming majority of republics in the Russian Federation insist on the signing of a union treaty. This was reported at a meeting of the faction of the Russian Parliament "Sovereignty and Equality" by Umar Temirov, coordinator of the faction. "All the republics of the Russian Federation, save two, are against the passing of a bill on the agreement of the differentiation of powers with central rule prepared by the constitutional commission," he stated. Temirov reported that he is for the creation of an indivisible Russian Federation.

Questions relating to the up-coming 6th congress of people's deputies were discussed at the meeting of the faction and a position established on developing a new constittition. The participants of the meeting agreed that all contradictions in the 4th section of the constitution which deals with the national-state system of the Russian Federation, must be removed prior to the congress. It was proposed that this question be discussed in a closed session at the meeting of the Council of Nationalities by presidents and heads of parliaments of the Russian Federation republics.

Presidium Views 6th Congress, Arms Treaties

PM1302105592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Sergey Chugayev report: "Reform in First Place. Constitution Later"]

[Text] The central event of the latest Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium session, which was held 10 February, was the decision to propose that parliament approve the date of the start of the work of the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies—20 April.

It is proposed that the Congress agenda will include seven items, three of which are the main items. These are a discussion of the progress of the economic reform, a discussion of Russia's draft new constitution, and a debate on problems of the Russian North. However, it is already clear that the main attention will be concentrated on the first two items. In this connection the change in the order of their discussion, which happened at the session, appears fairly typical. Contrary to the original proposal, the Presidium members resolved first to discuss the progress of the reform and only then to decide on the constitution. It is this order, in the opinion of the Presidium members, that will enable the deputies to take the most objective approach to resolving, let us say, this question—whether to adopt the new constitution or make a block of amendments to the old one.

The Presidium's decision to embark on the ratification in parliament of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed in the United States 31 July 1991, and the Treaty on Conventional Arms in Europe, signed in Paris 19 November 1991 [as published], also appears no less important. The contents of both documents are known quite widely. In the opinion of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who presented the documents, they both strengthen Russian security. However, certain problems are posed by the fact that the treaties were signed on behalf of the USSR, whereas they are to be ratified by another state, albeit one that has been recognized as the former state's legal heir.

The question of the ratification procedure arises in connection with the Treaty on the Reduction of Strategic Offensive Arms. In principle, the Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan could ratify it on the same day as Russia. But such a procedure would run counter to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. For, officially, only Russia is a nuclear power. Therefore another option will most likely be proposed—Russia ratifies the treaty, while the three other republics express official approval for it and ensure its fulfillment. According to Andrey Kozyrev, the republics have no objections to such a procedure, and it is very probable that the treaty could be ratified at the end of April.

Things are more complex with the Treaty on Conventional Arms. As Aleksandr Kotenko, deputy chairman of the parliamentary defense committee, declared at the session, the Ukraine and Belarus disagree with the arms quotas offered them. But if their demands are agreed to, then Russia, in fulfilling the treaty's provisions, will have to disarm almost completely. Thus, this treaty's ratification must be preceded by talks on the arms of the European members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States].

Correction to Yeltsin Supreme Soviet Address

LD1302183992

The following correction pertains to the item headlined, "Yeltsin Addresses Supreme Soviet" published in the 13 February Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT, pages 63-67:

page 64, column one, penultimate paragraph, last sentence make read: Congress has allocated $400 million for these... (correcting figure)

Regional Affairs

Dudayev Accuses Russia of 'Imperial Ambitions'

LD1302224992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2020 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 13 Feb (TASS)—President Dzhakhar Dudayev of the Chechen Republic, who spoke on local television this evening, accused the Russian leadership of imperial ambitions and of readiness to resort to any inhuman measures in order to achieve this.

To support his view, Dzhakhar Dudayev referred to the decision by a closed meeting of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium allegedly held on 11 February. According to him, it was decided at this meeting to break up the former Checheno-Ingushetia into two parts. Our Ingush brothers, he said, are being tempted by a sop: they are promised that the Prigorodnyy Rayon in North Ossetia will be returned to them in exchange for Ingushetia remaining a part of Russia.

Dzhakhar Dudayev also said the recent tragic events in Groznyy, as a result of which people were killed and wounded after attacks on military units, were also provoked by the Russian military leadership with the aim of discrediting the president of Checheno and the whole idea of national self-determination. If this had succeeded, he said, then the destructive forces within the republic would have been given support. The Vitebsk airborne division was being prepared for action.

Referring to information he has about provocative actions that are being prepared against him and the Chechen parliament, Dzhakhar Dudayev called on his fellow citizens to display courage and determination in defending freedom. He underscored the fact that he accuses the Russian leadership, not the Russian people, of the desire to strangle the freedom of the mountain peoples.

Obninsk Radiation Leak Dismissed as 'Rumor'

MK1402090292 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Feb 92 p 1

[Marina Ryklina and Dmitriy Frolov report: "Security: Attack of Radiation Phobia in Moscow. City Did Not Think That This Might Be Exercises"]

[Text] Toward evening on 13 February reports began coming in from several sources at once of an accident that had supposedly occurred at the Obninsk AES [nuclear electric power station]. Everything indicates that these alarming reports, which fortunately proved to be rumor, had a wide audience—the AES' radiation security personnel had to answer a host of telephone calls. The militia also had a disturbed night: The duty officer grew tired of reassuring citizens and explaining to "first aid" teams that they did not have to go anywhere. The next day the head of the Kaluga Oblast administration and representatives of the State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry and the civil defense service denied the rumors.

This is the second time in the last 18 months that alarming rumors have arisen over the Obninsk AES. As always in these cases, it is difficult to determine the original source. It was thought that in this case the rumors might be linked with an incident in the town of Zhukovskiy, in the Moscow region, where the city epidemiological supervision service unexpectedly found a high radiation background in an aviation technical college building—approximately 300 microroentgens per hour. Training aids—instruments whose dials are covered with a luminous compound—were the source of the radiation. Some of them "emit" up to 3,000 microroentgens per hour. Classes have been suspended at the technical college.

It turned out that Podolskiy Rayon civil defense territorial organs were conducting an exercise with the theoretical mission of dealing with "an accident at the Obninsk physics and power engineering institute nuclear reactor involving the formation of a radioactive cloud."

Moscow Mayor Rebuts Corruption Accusations

PM1102141392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent Yuriy Kovalenko report: "Gavriil Popov Signs Agreement With Mayor of Paris and Refutes 'Fabrications of Bolshevist Press'"]

[Text] The mayors of Paris and Moscow, Jacques Chirac and Gavriil Popov, have signed an agreement on friendship and cooperation between the two capitals. It envisages an exchange of experience in the operation of municipal services and the approach to social problems, as well as the use of modern technology in matters concerning the municipal economy, the environment, and the preservation of monuments.

Moreover, special structures will be created in Moscow and Paris to organize exchanges: Whole families will visit one another. It is planned to open a French lycee in Moscow and a Russian school in Paris, as well as Paris and Moscow centers to help develop relations between the two cities.

"This agreement creates a bridge for direct ties," the mayor of Moscow said at the document signing ceremony. "Cooperation between Moscow and Paris must be organized by business structures and by people involved in culture, science, and education."

During a conversation after the official ceremony, journalists asked about the health of the Russian president, who has unexpectedly—at least as far as the French are concerned—cancelled several scheduled meetings in the last few days.

"Boris Yeltsin is perfectly healthy," the mayor of Moscow replied. "He is currently working on some very important documents connected with his visits to the United States, Britain, and France. I had a normal conversation with him before I left."

"How can Paris benefit from cooperation with Moscow?" correspondents asked.

"It can invest capital. France has been actively involved in developing Moscow's infrastructure in the past. The trams in Moscow were French, for example, and the fuel and power industry was Franco-Belgian. Its capital has always gravitated toward long-term investments. Now France has the opportunity to invest that capital profitably."

"How can you talk about exchanges when the return air fare between Moscow and Paris is almost 50,000 rubles?"

"Current prices are unrealistic. My only hope is that Russia will quickly carry out monetary reform and that there will be real money and real wages. The situation will not change as long as prices are guided by mass-produced banknotes. As far as Russia is concerned, it would be simpler to create our own currency and carry out rapid reform. If we are thinking of its long-term aims, the interests of neighboring states must be taken into account if possible, of course."

On the eve of G. Popov's arrival in Paris, several of our own publications, such as PRAVDA, and some of the French mass media—quoting our press—began to carry reports about the alleged involvement of the Moscow mayor's office in shady dealings connected with the French-Russian joint enterprise "KNIT-Kaluzhskaya Zastava," the sale of a whole block in Moscow, illegal operations, bribes, etc. So I asked the mayor what is going on.

"In 1990," G. Popov explained, "we signed an agreement with some French firms to create a technopolis in Moscow similar to the one in the Paris suburb La Defense, and we applied to the firm responsible for

building the French project. This firm is now part of the joint venture building the technopolis. It is being built next to the Academy of Sciences, because the academy is to be the main supplier of what the technopolis will sell. We believe that Moscow's future depends on its readiness to supply the market with the scientific and technical output of its research institutes. In order to buy meat, milk, and other food, we have to have something to sell—and we can sell our scientists' output. The scheme proposed to us seems effective, but as far as the situation in the French firms involved in the project—Sari and CBC—is concerned, I have nothing to say."

"The press also claims that you as an official did not have the right to sign this agreement, whereby land is transferred to a joint enterprise—in which the mayor's office has a 40 percent share—for 99 years."

"If I did not have the right to sign the agreement on Moscow's behalf, who did? If such a person exists, tell me his name. I am not involved in the joint enterprise. I am founding an enterprise to which I am giving some of Moscow's property. I am doing the same as I would with any store, bakery, or pharmacy. It all belongs to the mayor's office, and it decides who should own it—a Russian enterprise or joint enterprise—or whether it should be leased to foreigners."

"Quoting our newspapers, the weekly L'EVENEMENT DU JEUDI says that the joint enterprise has been given unlimited rights to demolish homes, build what it wants, and even evict people."

"The joint enterprise cannot evict anyone. That will be done by the mayor's office, and, naturally, it will evict people from the two buildings on the site. But the firms responsible intend to build homes of better quality nearby for the residents concerned."

"The newspapers hint that some Moscow officials could line their pockets from these operations."

"That can never be ruled out. Our officials contrive to line their pockets at every opportunity. But I do not think we have a monopoly on the situation. As far as I am aware, officials in Tokyo and other cities do exactly the same. Our task is to root out and rid ourselves of dishonest people.

"This episode involving the Bolshevist and French press has one aim: to prevent the conclusion of important agreements during Boris Yeltsin's visit," G. Popov stressed in conclusion.

Japanese Aid Consignment Arrives in Vladivostok

PM1302181992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 9 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The first consignment of humanitarian aid from Japan arrived in Vladivostok today. The ship brought nine tonnes of powdered milk, eight tonnes of sugar, and other foodstuffs as well as medicines. The cargo is valued at $50 million.

Tatar Democrats Oppose Secession From Russia

OW1302173992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1628 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] The coordinators of the group SOGLASIYE (Concord) and faction NARODOVLASTIYE (People's Power) in the Tatar parliament have opposed President Shaimiyev's idea of a referendum on Tatarstan's constitution. They suggested, instead, that a referendum be held to decide whether their republic secede from the Russian Federation or stay inside it.

They feel that although no one has announced this, Tatarstan is, step by step, withdrawing from Russia. Their republic has refused to take part in a Russian referendum, boycotted a presidential election in Russia, disregarded Russian legislation, adopted a unilateral decision on Federal budget payments and started work on its own constitution which would be expected to proclaim Tatarstan's secession from the Federation. A referendum may be held to put the new constitution into effect.

The Tatar parliament which is to meet after recess on February 19 will possibly consider the idea of a referendum.

Yeltsin Decree on 'Moskva' TV Criticized

MK1402082092 Moscow KOMMERSANT in Russian No. 6, 3-10 Feb 92 p 29

[Sergey Samoshin article under the "Scandals" rubric: "'Moskva' Television Company is the Property of Moscow City Hall. Gavriil Popov Wants To Be Television Dictator"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Mass Media Committee considered a Russian presidential decree 5 February on setting up the "Moskva" Russian television and radio broadcasting company. The gathering spoke sharply about Moscow's mayor and criticized the form in which the decree was drafted.

Committee chairman Vyacheslav Bragin told its members that in October 1991 the leaders of the Moscow City Soviet, Moscow Oblast Soviet, and Moscow Oblast [as published] had suggested to Gorbachev and Yeltsin that an "autonomous enterprise for broadcasting to Moscow and the oblast" be set up. The city hall and the collective of the Moscow program studio [studiya moskovskikh programm] were among the founders.

Boris Yeltsin signed a decree 24 January in which only the Moscow City Hall remained from the original list of founders.

A Moscow Soviet session 29 January had evaluated this as "Moscow City Hall's monopolizing television and radio broadcasting to the Moscow region" and decided to "submit to a session of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium the question of suspending the president's decree."

Yegor Yakovlev, chairman of the Ostankino television company, said at the committee session that "it is not a case of the decree not being coordinated with anyone, but of its being implemented totally as Gavriil Popov wants it to be." Since August 1991 the mayor's arguments have boiled down to his "not wanting to hear of deputies appearing on the Moscow channel." Yakovlev thinks it impossible to give the "Moskva" company, as the decree says, "all the Moscow channel's technical resources and broadcasting systems."

Mikhail Poltoranin, Russian minister of press and information, said that "Popov long had his eyes on the Moscow program." In the minister's opinion, Popov has evidently "gone in the back door of the presidential structures and signed a decree bypassing everyone." Poltoranin told KURANTY's correspondent the "Moskva" television company's possible budget—300 million rubles.

Sergey Nosovets, member of the Russian Supreme Soviet subcommittee for television and radio broadcasting, who has been instructed to generalize the proposals made at the committee, told KURANTY's correspondent that the best way out of the conflict will be for all interested parties to reach agreement at a general meeting.

Chuvashia Republic Changes Official Name

LD1402085292 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentina Ivanova]

[Text] Cheboksary February 13 TASS—Chuvashia, formerly an autonomous republic within the Russian Federation, has changed its name from soviet socialist republic to Chuvash Republic, dropping the words soviet and socialist.

The republican parliament will have to adopt a law on a new republican coat of arms, flag and anthem.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Denies Missiles No Longer Aimed at U.S.

LD1302223692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Excerpts] Since the Commonwealth of Independent States was formed the media have always given prominence to statements by the Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. His actions and decisions have been playing an ever greater role in maintaining the political structure of the Commonwealth, and in the long-term in solving the problem of its very existence. [passage omitted]

President Leonid Kravchuk has made a sensational disclosure at another briefing for domestic and foreign newsmen in Kiev. He actually denied a statement by the press by [as heard] the Russian President Boris Yeltsin that the strategic nuclear missiles are no longer targeted on installations in the United States and have been taken off the alert status and that tactical nuclear weapons have been taken away from the Ukrainian territory. Here is a recording from that briefing made by our correspondent in the Ukrainian capital Kiev, Vladimir Sokolov. President Leonid Kravchuk:

[Begin Kravchuk recording in Ukrainian fading into English translation] I've learnt all that only from the papers. No one consulted us on such decisions earlier. The strategic missiles on the territory of Ukraine are so far on combat alert and it's unknown where they are targeted, and only one half or so of the tactical nuclear weapons have been removed from the Ukrainian territory. [end recording]

President Kravchuk added: We must be responsible for the common cause only together. No one can tell the world anything on our common behalf without first consulting the others.

Those were statements by the president of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, made shortly before the Commonwealth summit in Minsk on Friday.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Latvia

LD1302232792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1335 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] A protocol establishing diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Latvia was signed in Kiev yesterday. During the meeting Ukraine Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko and Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans discussed a broad range of issues, including the issue of Ukrainians who live in Latvia. It is the Latvian minister's view that if favorable economic conditions are created in Ukraine, approximately 60 percent of the 90,000 Ukrainians are ready to return to their historical homeland. The Latvian side expressed the readiness to render assistance to these people.

Anatoliy Zlenko expressed his state's stance unequivocally: The Ukraine has no right to interfere in Latvia's internal affairs, but it is not indifferent to the fate of the Ukrainians who live there.

News Conference in Warsaw on Security Issues

LD1302170192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Babenko]

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Feb (TASS)—"Kiev is very interested in the Ukraine joining the countries of the 'triangle'—Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary"—Dmitro Pavlychko, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, stated at a news conference here today. He took part in a three-day Polish-Ukrainian seminar entitled "Ukraine's Road Into Europe," devoted to the problems of security in central and eastern Europe.

Assessing the present state of Ukrainian-Russian relations, D. Pavlychko noted the positive significance of Moscow's decision to set up Russian Armed Forces. According to him, this means implementing the reform of the last buttress of the former empire—the army. This decision also coincides with the stance of Ukraine, which opposes setting up joint Commonwealth armed forces and advocates establishing national armies.

Speaking of the timing of the forthcoming visit by Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk to Poland, D. Pavlychko suggested that it would take place late in February or early in March.

Mykola Porovskyy, deputy chairman of the "Rukh" movement, who spoke at the news conference, reported on progress in preparations for the conversion of defense industry enterprises situated in Ukraine. He referred in particular to the intention of the local authorities to reduce by half taxes on industrial enterprises that will change over to the production of foodstuffs. It is also intended to reduce taxes on enterprises that have changed over to the production of medical equipment by 30 percent.

It was also reported that the cost of destroying the nuclear weapons situated in Ukraine is assessed at $80 billion. Within this context M. Porovskyy said: "Kiev very much counts on the West's financial aid, intended for these purposes, to reach Ukraine directly and not through Moscow." He gave an assurance that Ukraine will remove tactical nuclear weapons from its territory before the end of June this year and strategic weapons before the end of 1994.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Decrees Founding State-Owned Company

LD1302221392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1926 GMT 13 Feb 92

["Ukraine: A State-Owned Oil Company Founded"; from the "Politics" section]

[Text] Kiev—The deputy chairman of the company, Ukrgosnefteproduct, said that if the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] leaders did not agree on normalizing their economic relations at a meeting in Minsk, difficult times would lie ahead. On February 12, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk issued a decree on the foundation of a state-owned company, Ukrgosnefteproduct, incorporating the republic's oil extracting and oil processing sectors, as well as its transportation and distribution facilities.

Commenting on the president's decree, Victor Novikov, deputy chairman of Ukrgosnefteproduct's Kiev regional division, told PF [POSTFACTUM]:

The president has in fact restored the earlier abolished structure of the Ukrainian oil supplies ministry. Only time will tell how effective this decision will be. So far the republic is facing acute shortages of oil and oil products. 60-70 percent of oil processing capacities in the republic are idle because of insufficient deliveries of oil from Russia. Whereas in February Kiev and Kiev region needs 61,000 tons [as received] of motor fuel, so far we have received only 10,000 tons of fuel supplies (as of February 13). Beginning from February 1, 1992, virtually no gas has been delivered to the filling stations servicing individual car owners. According to Mr. Novikov, the oil shortage in Ukraine is related to deteriorated economic relations with Russia, and the imposition of restraints on the free movement of goods among the CIS states. As a result, even mutually beneficial barter arrangements have now become impossible between economic entities in Russia and Ukraine. Novikov went on to say that the only hope that was left was connected with the upcoming Kravchuk and Yeltsin meeting. According to him, the concluded treaties on supplies of Russian oil to Ukraine only guarantee enough supplies for the spring sowing campaign, whereas there is no gasoline or diesel fuel for industrial needs for March.

In March, we may not have enough supplies for the transportation and distribution of bread and milk. At the same time, there is very little hope that Iranian oil supplies, which were agreed in the course of a tripartite Ukrainian-Azerbaijan-Iranian meeting in Kiev at the end of December, because with Ukraine's annual need for oil at 60 million tons, we have very few capacities capable of processing crude oil that is produced in Iran. Only one oil refinery in the city of Odessa can process this type of oil, and its capacity is limited to 2.5 million tons a year, said Mr. Novikov.

According to Novikov, in the context of acute oil shortages in Ukraine, thefts of gasoline and other fuel for the needs of private car owners is increasing. These thefts are assuming a mass character, which is causing great damage to the republic.

Fokin Appeals to World Financial Circles

AU1402105192 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 5 (51), Jan 92 p 1

["Appeal by Prime Minister V.P. Fokin to World Financial Circles"; date not given]

[Text] The Ukraine, whose independence was confirmed on 1 December 1991 by its multinational 52 million-strong population and has been recognized by the majority of countries of the world;

being one of the countries that founded the UN organizations and many economic organizations of the world;

consistently adhering both to its international obligations and those inherited from the USSR;

on 4 December 1991, together with other states that used to be members of the former USSR, signed a treaty on the succession with regard to the USSR's external state debt and assets.

Thus, the Ukraine has unconditionally undertaken to repay its share of the USSR's external debts via the Bank for External Economic Activity, which, in accordance with the treaty, has become an authorized agent for dealing with the debt.

The Ukraine, striving to adhere strictly to the letter and spirit of the treaty, has decided to join the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Together with experts from these leading international organizations, the Ukrainian Government is preparing, for the first time in the history of our state, a balance of payments and is determining the limit of its external debt to be approved by the Ukrainian Supreme Council.

Under the conditions of an extremely severe economic crisis, hyperinflation, and impoverishment of wide strata of the population, the government is trying to obtain the necessary currency capital in order to be able to repay its share of the debt in time. A mechanism for stimulating exports is being urgently created, the Ukrainian Export-Import Bank has been founded, and the system of the national customs control is being strengthened.

However, actions of other parties that are signatories to the 4 December 1991 treaty are causing concern. Without the participation of the Ukrainian Government's plenipotentiary representative, the representatives of Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and other countries that are successors to the USSR adopted the Statutes of the Interstate Council which, in accordance with the treaty, is authorized to adopt decisions on servicing the debt. In fact, the activity of the Interstate Council is in

contradiction with the treaty. Foreign and domestic gold and hard currency assets, immovable property, and property outside the USSR that other successor countries know nothing about to this day are being unilaterally appropriated. Having received, in accordance with the unilaterally adopted Statutes, 61.1 percent of votes, the Russian Federation has a real possibility to "legalize" its actions by the decisions of the Interstate Council.

At the end of the last year, the Interstate Council adopted the decision on suspending the current transactions of the USSR Vneshekonombank [Bank for External Economic Activity]. This has done much damage to the economic interests of Ukraine.

Coming out in favor of equality in resolving these questions, Ukraine cannot agree to the diktat of a single country, no matter how high its potential might be. For that reason, Ukraine appeals to the world financial circles with the following request:

1. To single out 16.37 percent of the total sum of the former USSR's debt, in freely convertible currency, for independent servicing by Ukraine. This conforms to the regulations of the treaty signed on 4 December 1991 (Article 3).

2. To provide a direct possibility for the Ukrainian National Bank and the Ukrainian Export-Import Bank to take part in all types of financial operations on the world market in order to enable them to fulfill their obligations with regard to the debt and to the development of Ukraine's market economy.

3. To recognize and to promote the implementation of the right of Ukraine to own 16.37 percent of all types of assets of the former USSR both on its territory and abroad. This will be a necessary guarantee for the fulfillment by Ukraine of its international financial obligations. As a temporary measure, Russia's right to own facilities that used to belong to the former USSR abroad should be suspended until they are actually divided among the states that are successors to the USSR.

The Ukrainian Government advances a proposal to convene an international conference in Kiev on 18 and 19 February and to invite to it plenipotentiary representatives of creditors, IMF, and the World Bank in order to implement these proposals.

Yours sincerely,

V. Fokin, prime minister of the Ukraine

Plyushch Warns of 'Unpredictable Consequences'

MK1302151092 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Feb 92 p 4

[Interview with Ivan Plyushch, chairman of Supreme Soviet, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "One of the Bunch"]

[Text] Behind the scenes he is overtly called Kravchuk's man. They are indisputably part of the same bunch. His own evaluation of the situation in Ukraine is all the more curious. We give Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, the floor.

[ROSSIYA] Ivan Stepanovich, what problems would you single out today as being of paramount importance for the future of Ukraine?

[Plyushch] There are three: The Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet, the problems involved in forming our own army, and the question of the work of the incumbent Cabinet of Ministers headed by Premier V. Fokin. As for the Crimea, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has no official document from Russia regarding the peninsula. Even if there were one, I do not think that anyone has the right to raise this question. As you know, the Crimea now has the status of an autonomous formation. The demands that its 1954 status—when the Crimean Oblast existed—be restored are inappropriate.

As for the Black Sea Fleet, the question is still open. Bilateral talks are needed, and an effective mechanism needs to be formulated. The bases belong to Ukraine. Vietnam, for instance, gets $35 million per year for the use of its naval bases. We do not want to conduct relations with Russia on that basis. Contractual commitments are needed between the two sovereign states.

I see no problems with forming an army for the independent Ukraine. There is no state without armed forces. They are a necessary attribute of statehood. All our actions are totally in line with the protocols of intent signed in Minsk.

[ROSSIYA] Many recriminations are being leveled at Premier Fokin and the Cabinet of Ministers that he heads.

[Plyushch] The whole problem is that the government simply has not had time to implement economic reform. Before the 1 December referendum there was effectively no government in Ukraine. It performed an intermediary function: from the center to the periphery. When the whole weight of responsibility fell on the shoulders of the Cabinet of Ministers it simply fell sick with the stress. Time is needed. Fokin has now been tasked with determining his position on coupons, and he is coping for the time being. The government plans as of February to switch all wages to coupons. In January, as you know, we issued 25 percent of wages in the form of coupons—in practice solely for foodstuffs.

[ROSSIYA] What can you say about independent Ukraine's tax policy?

[Plyushch] Today we have a 28-percent value added tax that we have copied from Russia. There are no tax concessions, which is naturally curtailing commercialization—there are virtually no commercial stores in

Kiev. I will only say that the whole system will be reviewed shortly. The economic package includes 12 new laws.

[ROSSIYA] One of the main links in the economic reform is the liberalization of prices. There are many people in Ukraine today discontented with the sharp rise in the price of virtually all kinds of goods.

[Plyushch] Liberalization today is a parody of reform, just a fashionable word. There will be routine price rises until the attitude toward ownership is reformed and prices are regulated by the market. There can be no price liberalization until prices become an economic category. To put it mildly, when nothing has changed, that is regulation.

Crudely speaking, distribution and control are the road to deadlock.

There are many problems with land reform. A draft law is ready; it contains a private form of ownership. However, amendments are needed to the land code and the Law on Ownership. We are approaching spring. If we have not implemented land reform by March, unpredictable consequences may be expected.

Joint Financing of Aircraft-Carrier Viewed

LD1402140692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Anatoliy Kuznetsov—TASS]

[Text] Nikolayev, 14 Feb (TASS)—Ukraine will make another proposal to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] to jointly finance the completion of the heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser Varyag, which is being built at the yard in Nikolayev (south of Ukraine). The UKRINFORM correspondent was told this by Viktor Antonov, Ukraine's state minister for the defense complex and conversion. He heads the government commission which has been working at the "Chernomorskiy Sudostrolitelnyy Zavod" assocation and is to present its conclusions and proposals on this problem to Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers.

Viktor Antonov noted that Varyag is now 68 percent ready. If an accord on jointly financing its completion is not reached, the sale of the aircraft carrier to foreign clients is possible even though such a way out of the situation entails difficulties. Concerning the aircraft carrier of a similar class, Ulyanovsk, whose hull is only half-assembled on the stocks, it would be cut up for metal scrap.

The commission of the Ukraine's Government has also been working at the "Sudostroitelnyy zavod imeni 61 kommunara" association. Problems with financing ship repair, the solution of which depends not only on Ukraine but also on other CIS states, have also arisen there.

Lately reports have appeared in some mass media to the effect that the fate of the heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser Varyag has already been decided: either it will be written off for scrap or sold to foreign buyers.

Rukh Calls for 'Government of Popular Accord'

AU1402140792 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 4 (33), Jan 92 p 1

["Resolution Adopted by the Great Council of Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka on the Sociopolitical Situation in the Ukraine"; date not given]

[Text] Following the victory that the idea of statehood has gained in the nationwide referendum and the election of the president of independent Ukraine, whose program is largely based upon that of Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka], a qualitatively new political situation has taken shape. Having no direct levers of power or mechanisms of influence upon the adoption of state decisions, Rukh has moral responsibility for the state of affairs in society.

Realizing the existing external danger for the Ukrainian state and the insidiousness of the actions of internal antistate forces, we come out in favor of the consolidation of all those social forces that support the state development process and will support those actions of the president that are directed toward creating institutions of statehood and guaranteeing the effective functioning of the system of power.

At the same time, pointing out the poor performance of the government in its current composition and the ineffective and indecisive activity of the president in reforming the economy and the organs of administration, an activity that has resulted in a considerable lowering of the peoples' standard of living and has led to an exacerbation of the social situation, we insist upon the urgent replacement of the Cabinet of Ministers and the formation of a government of popular accord. We are in favor of implementing radical economic reforms that will guarantee conditions and incentives for effective work and the improvement of the economy and standard of living.

A radical reform of the sociopolitical and state system and the transition to a market economy require great efforts, patience, and certain sacrifices.

We are ready for this. We are ready to proceed along the road of reforms toward building a strong and prosperous Ukrainian state. A highly professional government of popular accord that will embark upon this road will find our understanding and support.

Armenia

Joint Armed Forces Within CIS Favored

OW1302214092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenia favors the creation of joint armed forces within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] as "the most expedient option at present." President Levon Ter-Petrosyan will be defending this stand at the Minsk summit on Friday [14 February], said his national security adviser Ashot Manucharyan to INTERFAX's correspondent.

The adviser said the Armenian Government did not feel it was time to transfer the CIS 7th army stationed in the republic, to the latter's jurisdiction.

'Text' of Armenian-Russian Friendship Treaty

NC1402064192 Yerevan HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN in Armenian 15 Jan 92 p 1

["Text" of the "Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Security Between the Republic of Armenia and the Russian Federation" agreed on in Moscow on 29 December 1991]

[Text] The Republic of Armenia and the Russian Federation:

Proceeding from the Armenian Republic's constitutional law of 23 September 1991 on the "precepts of independent statehood" and from the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic's 12 June 1990 proclamation on state sovereignty;

Heedful of the sides' desire to cooperate within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States;

Relying on the centuries of traditions of cultural interaction and friendly relations between their peoples and on the similarity of the cultures;

Being fully resolved to set up democratic law-based states on their territories;

Realizing that their friendly relations and the further development and consolidation of the good-neighborliness and mutually advantageous cooperation conform to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two states and would best contribute to their economic progress;

Believing that the future of the relations between the two states are inexorably linked to peace in Europe and the world and to the consolidation of security and stability;

Affirming their dedication to the UN Charter, to the Helsinki Final Act, and to the principles and aims of the rest of CSCE documents;

Affirming also their allegiance to the accepted international norms in the field of human rights;

agreed on the following:

Article 1

The parties will develop their relations as friendly states. They undertake to be guided by mutual respect toward each other's sovereignty and independence; equality; noninterference in each others domestic affairs; avoidance of use or threat of use of force, including that of economic and other pressures; respect for the territorial integrity, inviolability of borders, peaceful resolution of disputes, human rights, and fundamental freedoms; the principles of conscientious fulfillment of obligations; and by other universal norms of international law.

Article 2

The parties will cooperate on global and regional levels for the consolidation of peace, stability, and security. They will assist the continuation of disarmament, the creation and strengthening of collective security systems, the strengthening of the UN's peacekeeping role, and the establishment of structures contributing to the augmentation of the productivity of regional mechanisms. They will also exert efforts to help resolve regional disputes and other situations which bear upon the interest of the sides.

Article 3

In cases where one of the parties is affected by the disruption of peace, or when in its opinion situations arise threatening peace and undermining its real security interests, then that side can request prompt assistance whose validity, form, and degree are ascertained by relevant consultations. The parties will work to assume a common stance on the question of measures to overcome such situations.

Article 4

Each of the parties prohibits and prevents on its territory the activities of organizations, groups, and individuals directed against the sovereignty, independence, or territorial integrity of the other party.

Article 5

Each of the parties undertakes to refrain from participating in any act or measures aimed against one of the parties and will not allow its territory to be used for aggression or for other coercive acts against the other party.

Article 6

The parties while independently deciding upon the questions of ensuring national security and military structure, will closely cooperate in these areas and by a separate agreement will ascertain the forms of cooperation, including the presence of some of one side's military forces on the other's territory.

Article 7

The parties guarantee equal rights and freedoms to their citizens without prejudice regarding their nationality, sex, language, religion, political, or any other convictions, or other distinctions.

Each party undertakes not to obstruct individuals on its territory from freely keeping the citizenship of their state or obtaining the other side's citizenship or have both sides' citizenship in conformity with the sides' legislation on citizenship.

The parties will sign a separate agreement ensuring and protecting the rights of their citizens residing on each other's territory. They will sign a separate agreement on dual citizenship.

The parties will by separate agreement also settle the question of ensuring the rights of the Armenian minority living in the Russian Federation and the Russian minority living in the Armenian Republic.

Article 8

The parties will further develop equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation in the spheres of politics, economy, culture, health, energy, ecology, science, technology, trade, humanities, etc. and will assist in the exchange of comprehensive information. The prime direction of their cooperation—except those mentioned in Articles 2, 3, and 6—will specifically be the coordination of activities at various international organizations, including the implementation of the agreed initiatives; the ensurance of human rights in conformity with the international fundamental documents in force in that sphere; cooperation for the formation and progress of the overall economic space; the coordination of the management of energy, transportation, and communications systems; cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection; cooperation in the struggle against organized crime, terrorism, and narcotics.

The parties will sign separate agreements on the aforementioned and on other matters of mutual interest.

Article 9

The legal status of the property of the state, of legal persons, and of citizens of one of the parties found on the territory of the other party is regulated in accordance with the latter's legislation, unless stipulated otherwise by agreement between the parties.

If one of the parties declares as its own property territory of the other party but on which a third side, individual or state, is claiming ownership, then the other party is obliged to take necessary measures to protect that property intact until the matter is resolved and has no right to transfer it to any other side without prior and explicit agreement.

All other matters of ownership relations which touch upon the interest of the parties are subject to regulation by separate agreements.

Article 10

The parties will establish their economic and commercial relations on the basis of granting most favored nation status. The parties will ensure the development of economic, commercial, scientific, and technological relations at the level of:

—state administration and government bodies;
—banking and financial systems;
—municipal agencies;
—enterprises, associations, organizations, and establishments;
—Armenian-Russian and Russian-Armenian joint enterprises and organizations;
—individual businessmen.

The parties will conclude inter-governmental agreements on reciprocal supplies, services, payments, price and currency fluctuations, on the timetable for the transition to a reciprocal settling of accounts at international prices, and undertake to adopt measures to attune bank credits and price policy.

The parties will strive to improve the conditions of activities of the other party's enterprises and businessmen on their territory, in particular as regards the protection of direct and capital investment.

The parties will inform each other beforehand about economic measures which might deal with the rights and legitimate interests, mutually agreed within the framework of the bilateral relations, of the other side.

Article 11

In ensuring the transit transportation of freight and passengers through their sea, land, and air ports, through the rail and road network, and pipelines, the parties will sign separate agreements regulating the transit of freight and passenger transportation on the basis of granting most favored nation status.

Article 12

The parties will exchange diplomatic representations. The order and status of this exchange will be clarified by separate agreements.

Article 13

The provisions of this treaty do not affect the rights and obligations of the parties arising from the international and other agreements in which they are participants.

Article 14

The disputes arising from the implementation and interpretation of this treaty should be resolved through consultations and talks between the parties.

Article 15

The parties will hold bilateral consultations and talks pertaining to matters of application of this treaty as necessitated, at least once a year.

The parties will establish an interparliamentary standing commission on cooperation and an intergovernmental coordination committee for the implementation of this treaty.

Article 16

The treaty is subject to ratification and goes into force on the day of the exchange of the instruments of ratification which shall take place in Yerevan.

Article 17

The treaty is signed for 10 (ten) years starting from the day of the exchange of the instruments of ratification.

The treaty is automatically extended by 10-year periods unless one of the parties terminates its application by informing the other party at least six months before the expiry of its present term.

The treaty is signed in Moscow on 29 December 1991 in two copies, in Armenian and Russian, both texts being of equal strength. [Signed]For the Republic of Armenia: L. Ter-Petrosyan [Signed]For the Russian Federation: B. Yeltsin

Communities Across Commonwealth Help Karabakh

OW1302172292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1628 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to unofficial but well informed sources, Armenian emissaries have been sent to Armenian communities across the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], as well as abroad, to coordinate the delivery of financial and other aid to the Armenian Republic and Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Armenian communities in the Commonwealth have already collected considerable funds for the purpose, the sources noted.

Cooperation Protocol Signed With Iraq

JN1302143892 Baghdad INA in English 1425 GMT 13 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, Feb 13, INA—Iraq and Armenia signed today a protocol for bilateral cooperation.

The protocol calls for increasing and cementing economic, trade, scientific technical and tourist cooperation between Iraq and Armenia.

The protocol signed for Iraq by senior Oil Undersecretary Taha Humud Musa who arrived in Moscow on 2nd instant [2 February] leading a trade and economic delegation within a tour in republics of Commonwealth of the Independent States.

Azerbaijan

Minister: Soviet Troops Fighting for Armenia

LD1302214992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1926 GMT 13 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Baku—Azerbaijan's defence minister says servicemen of the former Soviet Armed Forces have been engaged in combat operations in the Karakakh conflict, on Armenia's side. On February 13, Azerbaijan's Defence Minister Major General Mekhtiev told PF [POSTFACTUM] that the personnel of the Stepanakert regiment was being forced to take part in combat operations against Azerbaijan.

This evidence is supported by testimony from 43 warrant officers, 8 commissioned officers and many privates who switched over to the Azerbaijani side. They insist that Army servicemen are being forced to take part in combat operations at gunpoint. On the other hand, the Azerbaijan defence minister maintains that 80 percent of officers at the 4th Army have declared their readiness to serve in the Azerbaijani Armed Forces.

So far the republic's authorities do not intend to abolish the military structures that developed in the former Soviet Army so as not to affect the interests of its servicemen. Azerbaijan is ready to accept officers of any nationality, guaranteeing their civil rights and high salaries. Non-commissioned officers will receive a salary of 1,700 rubles a month, and officers—more than 2,000 roubles.

Concerning the future of the Caspian Sea Fleet, General Mekhtiev said that Azerbaijan intended to divide it in four parts among Russia, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan, which had outlets on the Caspian Sea.

NKAO Ministers Send Statement to CIS Leaders

LD1402121592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Nagorno-Karabak Republic has addressed a statement to the heads of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] members. The document states that after the creation of the CIS, the blockade of Nagorno-Karabakh and the armed aggression against it by Azerbaijan not only failed to decrease but have intensified considerably. The statement contains an insistent request to the CIS countries to use all their influence to break the months-long blockade of Nagorno-Karabakh and to avert a new stage in the genocide being perpetrated against the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Ayaz Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan, on arrival in Minsk, stated that at the present time deportations of the Azerbaijani population from their own lands are taking place in Nagorno-Karabakh. The president said that according to his information, mercenaries from different countries are operating in the so-called theater of the conflict. He noted that even black men are among those who have perished there.

Oppose Army Resubordination

OW1302214492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic warned the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] heads on Thursday [13 February] that if the Russian leadership agreed to re-subordinate the military units on Azeri territory to Azerbaijan, or to withdraw the infantry regiment from Stepanakert, the regional situation would drastically deteriorate, leading to considerable casualties and damaging Karabakh and Armenia's relations with Russia.

The Stepanakert regiment, according to the Karabakhi Cabinet, is "by the very fact of its presence serves as the last and only instrument of deterrence with regard to Azerbaijani plans."

The Cabinet's statement says more than 1,500 missiles and artillery shells have been fired on Stepanakert since November 1991, killing 49 and wounding 159 peaceful civilians.

Mutalibov Decree Establishes National Bank

NC1302114992 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0300 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] President Ayaz Mutalibov has issued the following decree establishing the Azerbaijani Republic National Bank:

In accordance with constitutional provision on the main principles of Azerbaijan's economic independence and law on the additional measures to stabilize the republic's economic and social life, I have decided:

1. To establish the Azerbaijani National Bank on the basis of the bank branches in Azerbaijan of the former USSR Industrial Construction Bank and the USSR Agrarian Industry Bank. The assets and unfavorable balances of the former banks as of 1 January 1992 will be transferred to the national bank.

2. To appoint Galib Agabagi ogly Agayev as president of the Azerbaijani National Bank.

3. To instruct Galib Agayev to draw up and submit for approval draft rules and regulations of the Azerbaijan National Bank within 30 days.

4. This decree is effective the date of its publication.

President Forms 'Council of Entrepreneurs'

LD1402102792 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent for ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Baku February 13 TASS—A Council of Entrepreneurs has been formed in the republic on the orders of the Azeri president. It is organized with the goal of providing assistance in development of entrepreneurship, formation of market structures, free economic and agricultural relations, due consideration for the interests of business circles during carrying out radical reforms in economy and protection of their rights. The council consists of the leaders of associations, unions of entrepreneurs, joint and small enterprises, as well as Azeri businessmen living outside the republic.

The new structure has been entrusted with the task of forming a coordinated stand of entrepreneur circles on questions related to improvement of economy, overcoming the crisis, accelerating the entry of Azerbaijan into world economic relations. In addition to that the council will prepare proposals for forming financial and economic conditions facilitating development of all forms of entrepreneurship.

Georgia

Mkhedrioni To Disband When Country 'Stabilized'

LD1202175492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1546 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Excerpt] We have a call from Zurab Dvali, a correspondent of the Georgian independent agency IPRINDA, whom we already consider as one of our own correspondents. He has news about Georgia. Go ahead, Zurab.

[Dvali] An assembly of the Mkhedrioni military-patriotic formation was held in the chess house in Tbilisi today. Professor Jaba Iolesiani, leader of this organization, stated that the Mkhedrioni will cease to exist only when the situation throughout Georgia and Abkhazia is stabilized. Members of the organization will be given the opportunity to join a Georgian Army, which unites the National Guard and all armed formations. Those who wish to return to their private and public affairs, that is, members of this organization, will retain their right to bear arms.

The chairman of Abkhazia's Supreme Soviet said at the meeting that Abkhaz battalions are being formed. They include officers of the Russian Army. According to the Mkhedrioni, there are 22 BTR armored troop carriers of the former Soviet Army in Abkhazia.

At the end of the meeting, a decision was adopted to send Mkhedrioni detachments to various parts of Georgia to keep an eye on the situation there. [passage omitted]

More Armed Clashes Reported in South Ossetia

LD1302140592 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT 13 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz February 13 TASS—Armed clashes were reported to have taken place last night in crisis zones of South Ossetia.

According to the regional information committee press centre, sniper and automatic gunfire was directed on residential areas of Tskhinvali and interior troops checkpoints from the Georgian village of Nikozi. The same areas were fired at from the outskirts of the settlements of the neighbouring Gori region. Ossetian national guard and self-defense units fired to retaliate. No casualties are reported from Ossetian side.

According to South Ossetian Acting Prime Minister Oleg Teziyev, Georgian militants from the neighbouring villages destabilise the situation dramatically. They want to disrupt negotiations with Georgia.

Despite allegations from Tbilisi that Ossetian side intentionally does not announce the time and place of the negotiations, we reaffirm our desire to have constructive talks under preconditions which include calling off the blockade around Tskhinvali, guarantees for 100 thousand refugees on their safe repatriation, Teziyev said.

The situation in South Ossetia remains difficult. All roads to Tskhinvali are blocked either by Georgian militants or by snow.

National Guard Complicates Abkhazia Situation

OW1302210092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press center of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia declared the violation of laws by the Georgian National Guard intolerable. The guardsmen entered the territory of the autonomous republic February 4 to eliminate the hot-bed of opposition surrounding President Zviad Gamsakhurdia who fled Tbilisi.

The report issued by the press center states that the violations by the national guardsmen "are evidence that the command is not in control of the situation and does not want to be, and is thus creating a threat to the civilian population."

According to unofficial reports received by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Abkhazia, the guardsmen are looting stores, illegally confiscating weapons from the police, wandering about drunk and shooting at cars, seizing them and harassing the passengers.

The guardsmen were to be withdrawn on the 13th of February, but according to the commander of the subdivision of Georgian forces Georgi Karkarashvili, they will be removed only after the order is received from Tbilisi.

There are approximately 250-300 guardsmen in Sukhumi at present and 300 near the city of Gagra.

Official: 'No Excesses' in Samachablo 12 Feb

AU1302145592 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] This morning, [name indistinct], chairman of the Gori council of local administration, informed our correspondent that there were no excesses in Samachablo [South Ossetia] yesterday. Last night passed peacefully.

A delegation from the Gori council of local administration was in Tskhinvali yesterday. Talks were held with Colonel Vladimir Korchagin, the newly appointed commander of the internal troops. He stated that all measures were being taken to safely restore transportation to Georgian villages in Samachablo.

South Ossetia 'Relatively Calm' 13-14 Feb

LD1402101392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Excerpts] Vladikavkaz, 14 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The last 24 hours were relatively calm throughout South Ossetian territory, the information committee press center reports. There was isolated gunfire only on the outskirts of Gori rayon villages. [passage omitted]

The local press reports that the first detachment of volunteers from the Russian national legion, made up of workers from a number of industrial enterprises in the Russian Federation, arrived in the North Ossetian SSR's capital today. They will leave for South Ossetia in the next few days. The volunteers do not intend to take part in armed operations on the Republic's territory. Their only task is to guard Russia's southern borders.

Estonia

Foreign Minister on Political, Economic Crisis

AU1302131592 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Feb 92 p 30

[Interview with Foreign Minister Lennart Meri by Dasa Hyklova; place and date not given: "No Miracles Are Taking Place"]

[Text] Estonia is fighting once again. Today, it is fighting for economic independence. It is difficult for the young republic to put up with the negative consequences of 50 years of planning by Moscow. The Estonian Government resigned recently. Foreign Minister Lennart Meri, who remained in his post, answered our questions:

[Hyklova] What are the main reasons for the current economic and political crisis in Estonia?

[Meri] Every transition from a planned economy to a market economy is always painful. However, now we feel differently than we felt in 1949, when 100 percent of our farmers were forced to join Soviet cooperatives. We suffered enormously, both physically and spiritually. Many Estonians were deported to Siberia. Since then, we have gradually become phlegmatic. Today, when we want to return back to normal life, we know that we have to follow an opposite direction. This is painful, and people naturally try to do it gradually. There is an Estonian proverb that says: If we must sever the dog's tail, then it is best to chop it off all at once and not piece by piece.

[Hyklova] Estonia concluded treaties with former Soviet republics on the basis of which agricultural products should be exchanged for Russian crude oil in barter trade. Estonian cities, however, suffer from shortages of some foods. How could that have happened?

[Meri] The economic crisis in the former Soviet Union began, in fact, a long time ago. Because we foresaw certain developments and we knew that the situation in Russia was worsening more and more, we concluded a lot of treaties with various regions of the former Soviet Union. We tried to ensure for the Estonian economy raw materials, for example crude oil and cotton, which we absolutely need. In the past, we exported, and I hope we will export in the future, our agricultural products to Russia. Estonia has met all contractual obligations. The economic chaos did not permit the other side to honor its promises. This had an adverse impact on our economic situation. For example, we have a lot of milk, but we do not have cars to distribute it to cities and shops. In its negative consequences, it is similar to a chain reaction.

[Hyklova] On what would Estonia like to build its economy?

[Meri] Any functioning economy is based mainly on the motivation of the people. The essence of the invented system that existed in Russia for 70 years and collapsed was to destroy the people's incentive and make dependent robots out of them. In Estonia, the generation that remembers the fact that work can also be a source of joy to man is still alive. Unfortunately, we do not always openly say that to create a market economy system is not so easy and that it requires a lot of work. It is as if we were sort of infected—some of us more, some less—by the Soviet disease: Do nothing, wait for orders, and trust "nice words." Today, we are living in a transitional period, and the Estonians' illusions of an easy road to walk on are gradually disappearing. People have started to realize that the most important thing is to work hard. No miracles are occurring.

[Hyklova] Is the form of joint enterprises with foreign participation proving successful in Estonia?

[Meri] In Estonia, we have two times as many joint enterprises as in Latvia, and four times as many as in Lithuania. This is one tenth of all the joint enterprises on the territory of the former USSR. This is only a beginning, because these enterprises function only in the sphere of services and mediation [zprostredkovani]. We will have better odds for the future if enterprises are established that would manufacture products corresponding to European standards.

[Hyklova] Irrespective of the well intentioned endeavors by existing politicians, the situation in the East can only become worse. One of our tasks is to help Russia, and, at the same time, we have to strengthen our common borders. We want to prevent our small territory from being hit by the economic problems of the colossus that touches America with one part and touches Japan and China with other parts. Unfortunately, there are only a few people in the world who realize what this vast territory—on which the attempt to create the Eden on earth has failed—really means.

Finland Signs Two Trade Agreements

LD1302122892 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1000 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] Prime Minister Esko Aho has signed agreements in Tallinn concerning free trade between Finland and Estonia and investment protection. For Estonia, the agreements were signed by Prime Minister Tiit Vahi. The agreements define the trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. According to the free trade agreement, no quantitative limits will be taken into account for the trade of industrial products. In addition, duty-free trade is to be continued to its current extent. On the basis of the agreement, Finland and Estonia will establish a joint committee to promote trade and economic cooperation. The agreements still require parliamentary approval.

Latvia

Ministry Repeats Protest Over Russian Troops

OW1202150492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1414 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian Foreign Ministry has sent the fourth note to the Russian Foreign Ministry protesting against the presence in Latvia of the troops which are under the jurisdiction of Russia. The document says that the strength of the units located in Latvia is increasing not decreasing. The garrisons in Adazi, Ventspils, Daugavpils, Valmieru and Sigulda have been replenished with 500 servicemen who arrived from Germany, says the note of protest.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Vietnam

LD1202190992 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—The Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Latvian Republic have established diplomatic relations. The protocol on this issue was signed by Latvian ambassador to Russia, Yanis Peters, and charge d'affaires ad interim of Vietnam, Doan Thang, in Moscow today.

The functions of the diplomatic mission in Latvia will be carried out by the Vietnamese ambassador to Russia concurrently. The Latvian Embassy in Moscow has no immediate information as to who will be appointed Latvian ambassador to Vietnam.

Lithuania

Sweden Signs Investment Guarantees Protocol

PM1302142792 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 25 Jan 92 p 2

[ELTA report: "Treaty Prepared"]

[Text] Government representatives from Sweden were at the Lithuanian International Economic Relations Ministry 22-23 January. During the meeting work on preparing a treaty on investment guarantees progressed. Its text was prepared and a corresponding protocol signed.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Egypt

PM1302141792 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 25 Jan 92 p 2

[ELTA-Foreign Ministry Press and Information Department report: "Diplomatic Relations Established"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Republic established diplomatic relations with the Arab Republic of Egypt 22 January 1992. Gediminas Serksnis, deputy foreign minister of the Lithuanian Republic, and Ibrahim 'Allam, Egyptian ambassador to Sweden, signed a document at the Lithuanian Embassy in Stockholm.

Putsch Investigator on Moscow Trip Results

LD1302030092 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1300 GMT 11 Feb 92

[Interview with Antanas Stepucinskas, Lithuanian General Procuracy interrogator, with unidentified correspondent on 11 February; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] A group of officials of the General Procuracy engaged in the investigation of crimes against the Lithuanian state has returned from Moscow. Today we met with Antanas Stepucinskas, the interrogator of especially important cases.

[Stepucinskas] The results of our trip are minimal. This is directly linked both with the present political situation in the Russian Federation and with concrete circumstances. The Union Procuracy has been abolished, and the Procuracy of the Russian Federation has not yet taken over all the functions of the Union Procuracy. Thus, various difficulties have emerged in Moscow, technical difficulties one could say.

[Correspondent] You have to deal with cases linked with the activity of the KGB in Lithuania. As it has been more than once reported in the press, that department has been very closely coopertating with the notorious State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]—that is, with the organizers of the attempted state coup in the former USSR. Tell me, have you met with any of the top men of the SCSE?

[Stepucinskas] We have been successful in Moscow in meeting with four of the SCSE. They were Kryuchkov, Yazov, Shenin, and Varennikov. Kryuchkov, as well as the other three, has refused to testify to us with the motivation that at present there is no intergovernmental agreement between Lithuania and Russia.

[Correspondent] But there is such agreement?

[Stepucinskas] Yes, there is, but so far there is no concrete agreement on legal assistance between our states. Such was the motive.

[Correspondent] But at the same time, former General Varennnikov and former CPSU Central Committee Secretary Shenin have taken the most active role in preparations of the last year's events in January and August, which shook not only Lithuania but also the whole world. Do they deny their, so to say, premeditated participation in the bloodshed in Lithuania?

[Stepucinskas] They avoid a direct answer to this question and state at once that they do not wish to have any

contacts with the representatives of another state's procuracy, making use of the same motive as Kryuchkov. One may assume that their solicitors have encouraged them to take such a stand. They knew about our visit, and they were not astonished at all.

[Correspondent] Meanwhile, it was stated at the parliamentary hearing in Russia investigating the activity of the SCSE that former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev had been informed about the preparations to introduce the state of emergency and, moreover, had been aware of everything preceding the events in Lithuania. Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis named Gorbachev as the main witness of the events which have taken place here. Tell us, did you attempt to meet Gorbachev?

[Stepucinskas] Of course. Our group has approached Mikhail Gorbachev's secretariat proposing that testimony be given to the representatives of the Lithuanian Procuracy about the January events. We know that our written request was on the same day handed in to Gorbachev, but he has not taken any decision while we were in Moscow. We also have approached Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Khasbulatov asking him to give us permission to get acquainted with the material of the deputies' commission which has been investigating the activity both of the KGB and the Army during the January and August events. So far we have not received any reply. Whether they will give us permission is still being decided it seems.

[Correspondent] You are not losing hope? What do your Russian colleagues tell you? Do they sincerely wish to help you, or are they any professional dodges which create obstacles for the investigation?

[Stepucinskas] Our impression is that our Russian colleagues, as you called them, do not intend to create any obstacles in the investigation of these events. However, their decisions are linked with political decisions being adopted by the Supreme Soviet. Thus we have to wait until an agremeent on concrete mutual legal assistance between our states is reached.